Carnival in Oruro (Bolivia): The Festive and the 'Eclipse' of the Indian in the Transmission of National Memory

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines the contemporary role of popular culture in processes of transmission of national memory. The analysis is based on the celebration of Carnival in Oruro, Bolivia's most prominent folkloric pageant. The Oruro Carnival celebrations are officially promoted all over the world as an accurate representation of Bolivia's cultural heritage. Following Hall (2006) I take cultural heritage to be a discursive practice around ideas of transmissions of cultural memory. In the bid to UNESCO for recognition as a World Intangible Heritage 'site', presented by Oruro's cultural authorities, emphasis was placed on the antiquity and accumulative powers of the celebration. In the official discourse, the Carnival parade connects past to present in ways that project particular ideas of locality and the national, centred on Catholicism and the mestizo ideology of Nationalist Populism in the 1940s and 1950s. But, in embracing such particular traits of the national, who's past and present are being projected in official discourses of intangible cultural heritage?

The analysis, supported primarily by scholarly literature on identity and race in the Andes, decolonial thinking and heritage studies, demonstrates that the discourse of heritage transmitted through the celebration of the Oruro Carnival has been systematically used to forge nation-making projects that embody hegemonic interests, and exclude indigenous and indigenous mestizos.

The ethnographic work was organised around three main ideas: national representation and the interconnections between power and memory, race and the racialisation of culture, and the mediatory dimension of cultural performance. Using data collected primarily through participant observation and 'participant experience' in performative practices from fieldwork in Oruro, and a methodology based on Grounded Theory (Charmaz 2006), I identify the connections between the transmission of hegemonic depictions of the past, the 'eclipse' of indigenous histories and experiences, and contemporary political exclusion of indigenous actors. I also look at the political responses that have emerged from the dialogical dimension of popular culture and festive performance and the agency of the actors excluded from processes of national representation that take place the festivity.

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To our grandparents and ancestors, and the polleras of our grandmothers.

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Figure 1. Map of Bolivia and Oruro location

United Nations (2004)

1. Introduction

> Contrary to what the nationalists would like, tradition is alive and changing. Those who would forbid it to renew and enrich itself are only fabricating it. They are killing it if they want it to be fixed and dead, a projection of the past into a spiritless present... I am speaking here of that tradition which is called patrimony and historical continuity… Tradition is made up of heterogeneous and contradictory elements. To try to reduce it to a single concept, to be satisfied with its so-called essence, is to renounce its many crystallisations. (Mariátegui 1971 [1928]: 117)

The city of Oruro, the fifth city of Bolivia, planted in the highlands at an altitude of almost 4000 m sits quietly most of the year alongside the mineral-rich mountain chain that promoted its foundation in 1606 as a Spanish colonial mining settlement. However, between the months of November and March, its quiet buzz is transformed into a momentous crescendo of activity leading up to the region's most renowned festive practice, the Oruro Carnival parade.

Carnival is celebrated around February or March according to the Christian calendar. Celebrations include a four-day long national public holiday, a street party with food and drink stalls, a variety of private and public rituals, and a dance parade made up of around sixteen thousand dancers. The parade is attended by an audience of four hundred thousand people (ACFO 2000: 6), via paid seats along its route across the city, and is broadcast nationally to millions of people via television and the Internet. The Oruro Carnival parade is officially Bolivia's most prominent folkloric expression, attended by the country's authorities and mediatised all over the world as a source of Bolivian national pride. It is highly regarded because of its inclusion on the UNESCO list of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity since 2001, and official discourses present it as a source of national cultural capital for its ability to bring the nation together.

In this study I hope to demonstrate how the classification of certain popular forms as 'traditional', in order to promote them as being embedded in locality and memory as part of nationalist discourses (Guss 2000), involves selective processes. These processes are guided by hegemonic configurations and serve to actively remove certain actors and their legacies from transmissions of national memory.

To illustrate this postulate I shall look at the Oruro Carnival (Bolivia) and its emergence in the twentieth century as a phenomenon of identity-making for the Bolivian nation.

The processes involved in the formalization of tradition, however, are selective and exclusive and for this reason they do not go uncontested. The multivocal aspect of the festive has a capacity to generate a multiplicity of meanings for all the actors involved, even if sometimes they can be seen to head in different directions. Following Martín-Barbero (2003) and Guss (2000) I consider popular culture to be a site of political mediation. Looking at the political dimension implies a focus on the symbolic imaginaries produced to mediate difference for the organization of social hierarchies at a wider level. This refers to the meeting of culture and communication as a 'strategic stage' to make visible the links between politics and symbolism (Martín-Barbero 2003: xv), and to show how belonging and positioning is articulated through symbols of difference in cultural performance.

In the case of Oruro this has meant an exploration of the connections between its local festive practices and the changing configurations of power in Bolivia in the twentieth century and onwards, with a focus on the dynamics of representation. I am primarily interested in the role of memory in shaping identity and experience, in creating expectations and ideas of social belonging, and as a source of values but also of inventions and reinventions.

This analysis is situated in the study of Andean Popular Culture and Identity within Latin American Studies. The angles of analysis and interpretation borrow primarily from three main disciplines: Andean History and Heritage Studies, Anthropology of Performance and De-colonial thinking. My analysis approaches the Oruro Carnival as a site of cultural performance in the context of nationalist discourses since the 1940s and onwards. Its focus is on the transmissive and dialogical role of popular culture and cultural performance in relation to processes of production and transmission of national memory in Oruro, in its contemporary role of Folkloric Capital of Bolivia since 1970.

Figure 2. Oruro Carnival Parade

Oruro city is located in the Highlands at 3700 m above sea level in the Southern Andean region of Bolivia. It is situated next the Cerro Pie de Gallo mountain and nine other successive hills that provided silver and tin to the colonial regime. The surrounding landscape is dry and arid, although rich in fauna and flora because of the proximity of lakes Uru-Uru and Poopó. The city was founded in 1606 as a colonial settlement: a result of the launch of systematic mining extraction at the end of the sixteenth century in the region. Mining defined the city throughout the colonial and republican periods until the 1980s, when State mines were privatized and miners relocated to different regions in the country. The organization of the population according to racial categories functioned according to labour division in the mines: Indians and Spaniards (including those who were born in the Americas but of Spanish descent) were separated in two different Republics, each with their own rights and duties, and occupying a different quarter of the city. The oldest Carnival dance troupe on record, the GTADO[1], emerged in 1904 in the *Ranchería* neighbourhood, an area that was part of the colonial Indian Republic.

[1] GTADO stands for '*Gran Tradicional y Auténtica Diablada Oruro*'.

The link between the mine and religion was established early on in the colonial era, as among the first colonial miners in the region was a priest, Francisco Medrano. A Christian sanctuary was founded over the developing mineshaft in the early days of the XVII century, which later became the Church of the Mineshaft at the end of the nineteenth century when it was renovated. The Church of the Mineshaft is at the end of the Carnival route: as dancers enter the Church to receive a mass, their Carnival parade comes to an end. The space occupied by the temple is home to two deities: the Virgin of the Mineshaft (a regional name for the Virgin of Candlemas) represented by a colonial painting presiding the Church, and the *Tío de la Mina* ('Uncle of the Mine') a mining deity derived from pre-Hispanic practices that sits deep down inside the shaft located under the Church. The mineshaft under the Church is no longer in use and has been turned into a museum, but the continuous presence of these two deities illustrates the level of juxtaposition and superimposition between Andean and Christian practices and symbols in popular Catholicism (Sallnow 1987).

Both the ritual and the topographic landscapes of Oruro are heavily charged with symbolic polyvalence. Around Oruro and its surrounding areas are a number of sacralised figures in the landscape (or *w'akas*), which people visit on particular dates in the calendar to make offerings to deities present in or represented by the landscape. For Condarco (1999), ritual activity around the wak'as shows a sense of continuity in the practices directed at pre-Hispanic deities. The symbolic wealth of the region has shaped the transformation of Oruro into a 'centre of national imagination', to use a term coined by Appadurai (2008: 212), since the 1940s.

During the Latin American nation-making developments of the twentieth century, nationalist governments and national elites turned towards popular culture to legitimize the processes of modernization that the nations were undergoing. The 'discovery of the popular' (Burke 1994 [1978]) and a novel interest in indigenous culture accompanied the cultural projects of national populism, and sought to unify all Bolivians under a single system of representations of the nation. The ideology of *mestizaje* (cultural and biological miscegenation), developed in countries across the continent (see Vasconcelos 1997 [1925] for Mexico, and Freyre 1987 [1933] for Brazil), linked to the idea of the hegemonic management of ethnic identity (Cohen 2000), served as a means of shaping and controlling nationhood (Hellier-Tinoco 2011: 35). It

postulated that the European Conquest of the Americas had served to bridge all the world's races (African, Amerindian, Asian and European) and give life to a new race in the Americas, which Vasconcelos (1997 [1925]) called the 'the cosmic race'.

In Bolivia the ideology of mestizaje arose in the 1940s, and was instrumental in the political developments that led to the 1952 Revolution. This period marked the appropriation and formalisation of expressions of popular culture associated to the State as representations of the nation. This was the context in which the Oruro elites first started to participate in the Oruro Carnival parade. The dynamics of this incorporation of new social actors into a previously marginal phenomenon served to reorganize the festive space overlooking previous racial divisions, however existing social hierarchies were reproduced at other levels mirroring the cultural developments of the nation.

The cultural and ideological developments that emerged from the political changes brought by the 1952 revolution reconfigured power relations in Bolivia. These processes informed the selection of those practices and actors that entered national discourses in the framework of the birth of 'new' traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1994 [1983]). The reflection of these developments in nationalist uses of popular culture meant that the Oruro Carnival was defined from then on as a Catholic-mestizo expression, in neglect of indigenous local practices and indigenous actors (Abercrombie 1992).

I have termed this process the eclipse of contemporary indigeneity in the transmission of national memory, because to me it is indicative of much wider social, historical and political processes in the region, which are related to how the past is managed to shape national imaginaries of shared cultural heritage.

1.1 Street as Mediating Space

According to Guss (2000) we can pick any one popular festive performance and look at it as a 'historical creation performed by actors who often have competing interests' (p. 8). In Oruro, this does not just concern the essentially multivocal aspect of cultural performance but also the idea of the post-colonial city as somewhere that 'spatially and socially condenses the contradictions of the social formations' and the symbiosis of modern and non-modern modes of production (Chandoke 1991: 2868).

Mitchell (2003) observed that the street could be a space for material being or for representation. In the first case, this concerns uses of public space for everyday activity, working, travelling, or even sleeping (in the case of homeless people). The second concern, representation, is explained in terms of public spaces controlled and structured to represent (for example monuments), or spaces claimed for the uses of representation. Institutional designation of spaces of representation does not always coincide with public use, as people sometimes create spaces of representation where there were none. This applies to the idea of street parading as a mediating activity.

Taking to the street in Bolivia is a popular way to communicate with the larger collectivity, and frustrated drivers often find themselves unexpectedly stuck behind one of the many school processions, protest marches, danced parades or any other kind of discourse or message which is more powerfully mediatised in the streets, than through other less accessible or less assertive means. This illustrates uses of the public space as claimed spaces for representation, a 'space in which groups and individuals can make themselves visible' (Mitchell 2003: 33).

In Oruro, the street mediates the participation of festive actors and national discourses via the Carnival parade. Dancers occupy the streets to rehearse, to perform, to engage in the 'carnivalesque' aspects of the festivity. The same streets are also taken over by the rural parades that come to Oruro to perform their own brand of Carnival performances in the same period (see Chapter 6). Visitors and cameras arrive from different corners of the world to witness the street representations of memory, of indigeneity, and of Bolivianness that are mediated in the public space.

The transformation of the public space into an authorized space for representation implies planning and provision to accommodate the parade, the audience, the media and visitors. The preparations that turn the city into a stage for the duration of the festivity and related events give enhanced visibility to the experiences and discourses that take place and emerge from the fiesta, many of which get picked up by the eyes of the audience, and the professional and non-professional cameras that travel to Oruro to capture some of the action. Sculptures and posters depicting Carnival dances or characters are put up in central areas. The widest avenue in Oruro, the Avenida 6 de Agosto (or Avenida del Folklore) is transformed to accommodate the start of the Carnival route (see Appendix D for a map of the route).

Removable seats are placed all along the three kilometres of the route, as well as a fence on either side of the pavement, in an attempt to separate the performers from the audience. Some of these spaces, like the main square (Plaza 10 de febrero) are made into exclusive areas and are reserved for the highest-paying ticket holders. VIP figures (politicians, diplomats, and others) and most of the camera crews tend to occupy these seating areas. Other cheaper seats are left for the masses and are unprotected from the weather, less monitored, and less separated from the dancers, like those on the Calle Bolívar.

Food and drink stalls pop up in every single available space, leaving little room for the pedestrians to move about. There are also movable street sellers, selling everything from water pistols, waterproof ponchos, beer, water, water balloons (already filled with water), snacks, CD's, to almost any imaginable thing. Thus, when the parade starts the public space is overwhelmed with mass (propped up seating areas, people, dancers, sellers, merchandise). There are also camera crews, and crowds of tourists and of non-Orureños who are attracted by the display of local expressions. Once Carnival Monday arrives, this last group often leaves Oruro for other nearby touristic spots. After the events are over, the 'stage' is dismantled and becomes a living space once again–that is until the next demonstration or dance parade.

1.2 Researching the Festive

The research was motivated by my understanding that national cultural heritage is a both discursive imaginary and a system of representations (Hall 1999), shaped and managed not necessarily to represent the memories of all the subjectivities it is supposed to emerge from, but to mediate particular versions of history that match particular political projects. The national narratives of cultural heritage still at work in Bolivia at the time of my fieldwork (2007-2008) focused on European values and aspirations, neglecting other important constitutive epistemologies that contribute to who we are as Bolivians. As an Andean, I object to the use of racial imaginaries in supporting structures of domination that operate on the basis of symbolic differentiation. On the one hand, this allows for large sectors of the population to be crudely discriminated against because of their position in racial hierarchies. On the other cut hand, the lack of recognition of our indigeneity forces individuals to do away

with traces of it in order to be offered more opportunities for self-improvement and development. Paradoxically, this means that we construct the future on the basis of a delusion.

I believe that the ways that we Bolivians perceive the past affect the ways in which the present and future are approached. This contribution to theory-making aims to deal with the 'contradictions and uncertainties' that colonisation and the resulting rupture in cultural continuities brought about, by helping those at stake to put reality into perspective, as argued by Tuhiwai Smith (1999: 38). Moreover, this analysis aims to produce a new conceptual framework wherein our ways of knowing are constructed in a manner which recognizes all our constitutive parts, from where to create a more stable basis for self-development, in a way which is fitting for our historical, social, cultural, and plural reality.

1.3 Research Questions

The guiding questions that I have tried to answer in this thesis are:

1) Looking at popular culture as a site of mediation, what interpretative frameworks will help identify and make sense of the socio-cultural and political processes and connections taking place in the polyphony of the Carnival?

2) Looking at the significant role of the Oruro Carnival in the production and reproduction of national imaginaries, what prompted its transformation from the periphery of Oruro to the centre of the nation? How is that shift reflected in ideas of national heritage promoted by the cultural authorities in charge of its management?

3) Given the prominence of the festivity in the lives of Orureños, what is it like to perform in it? What are their concerns when they participate, and how is their performance impacted by these and other concerns?

4) What is being said about the configuration of a Bolivian subjectivity through festive representations of national memory? How do those excluded from representation respond to this?

5) Given that this is an important moment to talk about identity in Bolivia (which is presently governed by its first indigenous president), what is being said by Bolivian

intellectuals and academics at the moment about the issue of race in the creation of social hierarchies and symbolic representations of the nation?

To ground my analysis I have conducted my research looking at three different dimensions at play in the festive: the temporal, spatial and epistemological contexts that have produced Carnival. I have also looked at everyday forms of exercising power through cultural performance, as well as how race and representation ideologies are expressed in the culture of festive practices. An analysis of festive transformations over the last century makes evident the connection between the exercise of ideologies in the creation of systems of difference and the degree of visibility of the contributions and histories of certain actors in processes of national representation. These processes of selection also become evident in the ethnographic accounts of the dancers and their experiences of the realm of the festive in Oruro.

This study is largely based on fieldwork in Oruro, as well as in La Paz. Regarding the interpretative framework it uses contemporary critical theory about representation, race, and performance, and recent theoretical approaches to the study of nationalism and heritage in post-colonial societies. I have also attempted to establish a dialogue among the most recent intellectual and academic publications coming from Bolivia dealing with identity and the recovery of memory, with the work of post-colonial thinking academics from around the world.

1.4 Thesis structure

Chapter two presents the methodological framework employed both to collect the data and engage in analysis. Firstly, I expose key events in the history of Carnival's development before focusing on the relationships between Carnival and the community, and the political and historical context of the fieldwork. Next, I situate my multidisciplinary approach on the basis of the multidimensional and plural character of the festive. I reflect on how the methodology was constructed using the precepts of recent work in Grounded Theory (Charmaz 2006), including a section about my own motivations for doing the research and my own role as an 'insider/outsider' and a 'participant' ethnographer in the field. I include a reflection on how the analysis progressed from the methodological framework, and a section on the limitations of the research in the field.

Chapter three situates the phenomenon of Carnival as an existing concept embedded in different frameworks of interpretations. Foucault's notion of episteme as the historical context that grounds knowledge and discourses (Foucault 2002 [1966]) serves me to analyse the distinctive epistemological frameworks associated with the phenomenon of Carnival and its multiplicity of meanings across time and space. I argue that popular culture can be analysed as a space of socio-cultural mediation, insofar as the symbolic capital of the event illustrates the richness of meanings and voices that the festivity can mediate. I focus on three dimensions of the festive – the different temporal, spatial and epistemological contexts that have shaped the festivity in Oruro – to ground mediatory processes in the festivity to more concrete socio-cultural and historical contexts. That is, carnival's connections to medieval Europe, the Spanish colonial setting, pre-Hispanic Andean practices, and modern ideas of spectacle. The paradoxical nature of post-colonial Andean identity emerges with force as it becomes obvious that Carnival is capable of mediating opposing, hybrid, and parallel worlds. I also reflect on the polysemic through Bakhtin's (1984 [1965]) notion of the 'carnivalesque'. This serves to articulate the role of Carnival in mediating relief from the constraints of everyday life, but also the notion that the festive belongs to the realm of popular culture, which is not a single culture but a multiplicity of voices (Burke 1994 [1978]). In-keeping with the viewpoint of Martín-Barbero (2003), I establish that the ability to mediate multiplicity and multivocality makes the festive a rich source of analysis for the interpretation of wider socio-cultural mediation.

Chapter four deals with the processes of selection that define what becomes a national 'tradition', and the management of festive imaginaries through official discourses about Carnival in Oruro in the construction of national imaginaries. Both Chapters four and six discuss the elaboration of exclusive and selective discourses of the national, whereas Chapter four offers mainly a theoretical reflection of the transmissive uses of the festivity. Following an initial theoretical framing of the role of popular culture in elaborations of political projects for the nation, I examine the historical transformations that Carnival underwent during the twentieth century, before eventually occupying the role it has today as a signifier of the nation and a repository of cultural heritage. I explain how the festivity was incorporated into national systems of representation as a way to visibilise the cultural projects of the elites including particular national populist political postulates. A discussion on

mestizaje serves to establish race as a central ingredient in the creation of new imaginaries that accompanied the modernising developments of the nation from the 1940s onwards. Finally, I use data collected from interviews to explore how the legitimisation of hegemonic views of history through the appropriation of the festive has had significant repercussions over the representation of 'national memory' via the discourse of heritage, and folklore. This section finishes with a reflection of the influence of institutional management of the festivity over the transformation of some of the richest symbolic elements of the event into folkloric signifiers. The latter is explored by focusing on the figure of the devil in the Devil dance.

Chapter five is mainly an ethnographic chapter. I discuss how festive actors connect with and through Carnival with their participation. The reflections in this section are based on a discussion of the dialogical relationship between performance and meaning, and how meaning is negotiated through the subjective elements of dance performance. Guss (2000) has spoken of festive performances as sites of social reconfiguration, whereby the possibilities afforded by the interconnectedness of performance make it a site of contestation and dialogue. The polysemic dimension of Carnival emerges in force in the analysis of how people engage their subjectivities with the events, either as participants or in other roles. It also emerges here that Carnival is not fully inclusive (i.e. open to anyone who wishes to participate) as there are economic and religious filters for participation. However, those who participate in performance via their engagement with the Virgin of the Mineshaft also take part in a world of internal structures, determined by the dancer's association to a particular dance troupe, type of dance, and costume. These choices are significant in terms of what social identity a performer wants to project of him/herself, and how they negotiate their own personal concerns with official discourses of representation and external socio-economic hierarchical divisions. I used the ethnographic data collected among *Diablada* (Devil Dance) dance troupes, and as a participant dancer in the GTADO, the oldest Carnival conjunto in Oruro.

Chapter six is also an ethnographic chapter. It deals with the tangible manifestations of exclusion of indigenous and indigenous mestizos in the festive, and how these reflect on symbolic representations of the nation at a wider level. This chapter also gives an account of some of the responses produced by groups excluded

from the event through festive performance. Whereas in Chapter 4 the discussion of exclusion and selection processes in national constructions is mainly theoretical, the first section of Chapter 6 explores how hegemonic national identity discourses affect the visibility of particular actors of the festive in practical terms. Visibility is found to be compromised as a result of, among other things, superposition (as one social group superimposes their values and subjectivity over another group's in the emergence of national constructions through festive performance) or erasure (as one group contributes to erase the contribution of another group from visible forms of memory). In the second section I establish a dialogue with the main topics discussed in Chapter 5 to discuss how the negation of the Indian for the emergence of Bolivian national subjectivities prompts new processes of 'self-production' (Hall 1997a, Hall 1996), and the engagement with wider politics of recognition (Taylor 1992). As a key issue, I also reflect on the emergence of new spaces for self-development through the recovery of own memories and new epistemological projects, linked to festive participation. I use ethnographic data from my participation at the GTADO, and my data collected from observations of the *Anata Andina*, a rural parade that has emerged in response to the imposition of mestizaje as a national symbol of cultural heritage.

My research on the carnival, which is a large-scale and highly diverse event, has a specific focus and is therefore limited in the following respects: I did not include a significant discussion on the importance of faith in national discourses of identity, given that the focus was on the performative and transmissive dimensions of the festive. I also did not include the participation of musicians and other festive actors, or the experiences of dancers in other dances, which might have given a different perspective on the significance of Carnival in their lives and interactions with others.

I conclude by observing that an examination of the transmissive and dialogical processes taking place in festive practices observed at the Oruro Carnival is well situated for the debate between official memory and collective memories. Selective processes of appropriation of cultural expressions informed by structures of domination over indigenous people continue to be in operation at the level of systems of representation. The performative dimension of the festive, however, allows for a dialogical relationship to be established between the actors excluded and the hegemonic forces that exclude them. The indigenous and indigenous mestizo actors

have managed to turn their invisibility into relevance in the arena of Carnival, a process with potential implications in the construction of national imaginaries around what it means to be Bolivian. The next question to deal with is whether their efforts to make themselves and their legacies relevant to ideas of the national have affected the subjectivity of other Bolivians?

2. Methodology

This chapter will explore the methodology and methods I used when doing research about the role identity discourses in festive practices in the Andes. I will describe my data collection techniques and discuss the theoretical considerations prompted by these discourses, as well as my own positionality as a 'home' researcher in Bolivia.

I will start by describing the most important events covered during the fieldwork in order to contextualise the approaches employed for data collection and analysis. I will then present the research actors that emerged as linked to different events related to Carnival, who were chosen on the basis of the importance these events have in their lives and their relationships with the community. This will serve to justify my choice of certain methods over others for the fieldwork conducted between September 2007 and September 2008 in addition to approximately one month of ethnography in 2005. Then, I shall explain how the methodology was constructed following criteria drawn from my readings in Grounded Theory, including a section about my own positionality in the field as a Bolivian 'participant' researcher based in the UK; and the ethnographic methods used for data collection and analysis during, before and after the fieldwork. Given that Charmaz's *Grounded Theory* (2006) became more significant in the last stages of my evidence-led analysis, I shall include a section to explore in more depth this theoretical approach within the larger theoretical framework that has fostered my analysis and findings. Finally I shall indicate how the analysis progressed from the methodological framework, examine some ethical considerations with regard to the research, and discuss its limitations in the field.

2.1 What prompted and guided the research

My focus on Carnival emerged from my own experience as an observer of the powerful connections people make with it. Initially I became interested in folkloric expressions as 'forms' of the nation and the mediatory capabilities of public performance. I was also interested in the possibility of 'undoing' school-learned historical narratives about the position of indigenous actors in constructions of the national, and in mainstream notions of 'world history'[2], through the analysis of non-written and performative records (Taylor 2003).

My initial interest in the performative brought along a series of areas to be problematised from the start of the enquiry such as the relationship between performance and discourse; performance and the audience; the place of the body, media, memory; and all such topics related to the communicative and encompassing powers of the performative. However, the research angle became more refined when I began to see Carnival participants as historical subjects rather than as mere performers. As a Latina migrant in Spain in the 1990s, I had learned to listen to Spanish gypsy music as the expression of a people diversely and collectively emerging, and tainted by pride, pain, and with a need to make themselves visible and create a space for learning and transmitting own inherited traditions that were not visible in mainstream culture. In the same way, applying this previous knowledge to my analysis of the performance of Carnival in Oruro, I started to see the festive as spaces of production, not of mere 'reproduction', borrowing from Guss's assertion that cultural performance becomes a site of 'social action where identities and relations are continually being reconfigured' (Guss 2000: 12) but also in agreement with Bakhtin's notion of festive life as a 'means of grasping reality' in the 'very process of becoming' (quoted by Guss 2000: 12, see also Bakhtin 1984). Festive events, in this perspective, act as spaces for social, spiritual, material and ultimately cultural production.

One of my main concerns was how race has been used as a socially constitutive category ever since the arrival of the Spanish colonisers in the Americas (Harris 1995; De la Cadena 2000, 2007; Larson 1995, 1999). As an Andean member of my

[2] I was inspired by Enrique Dussel's attempts to reposition Latin America and pre-Hispanic Amerindian civilisations in terms of the development of humanity from the paleolitic to present times. (Dussel 1981, 1992, 2005, among others)

generation, I had come to understand race as a social organiser, placing some people and their heritage above others, often forcing individuals to do away with traces of indigeneity in order to be offered more opportunities for self-improvement and development.

As weeks passed, I became more aware of where the parade fits into the lives of Orureños, and the larger network of events and phenomena that the parade is a part of became more visible and relevant in the enquiry. In the next section, I will give an outline of the events covered with details of the actors involved in the making of the festive in Oruro in order to start the discussion on the methodological approaches that guided both data collection and analysis.

2.2 Context, Events and Actors

I arrived in Bolivia in September 2008 with my family, ready to embark on fieldwork after two years of absence.

2.2.1 Bolivia's social and political map in 2007-8

During my year of fieldwork Bolivia was undergoing some of its most dramatic political and cultural transformations in recent times. Many of these were prompted by the events of 2000-3, commonly known as the Water War and the Gas War[3], and the powerful emergence of an indigenous Aymara, Evo Morales, as the nation's president in 2005, and as a new Latin American political figure.

I attended and participated in some episodes related to the developments[4] that led to the drafting of a new constitution in 2007, which included many new political rights and mandates on natural resources, and included indigenous actors in the political life of the country much more firmly than in previous attempts.

Important debates about ethnic and class segregation and discrimination, and the place of indigenous peoples' histories in the nation, which had been kept under the

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[3] For further details of these events, see Crabtree 2005.

[4] See the Latin American Perspectives Journal 2010; also Howard (2009b) in IJED. For a reflection on meanings of the racist attack of May 24 2008 episode when indigenous supporters of the *Movimiento Al Socialismo* (MAS) ruling party were racially harassed and physically abused by the inhabitants of Sucre in front of media cameras for all the world to witness, see the documentary *Ofendidos y humillados* (Dir: Brie, 2008, Bolivia).

surface, were emerging with force, ultimately raising questions about the subjectivity of Bolivians as a whole. There was, and still is – in the press, the news, the debates around the different political forces, and among the people in the streets – intense discussion about what being Bolivian really means. This leads sometimes to conflict-laden racialised ideas of society such as the division of Bolivians into the *k'aras* and *t'aras*[5], which demonstrates Howard's postulate (2009a) that both 'white' and 'indigenous' identities are seen as irreconcilable opposites.

The powerful and changing political juncture influenced my angle and focus on the festivity. When I arrived I was looking at performative practices and performance in the Oruro Carnival but my focus inevitably turned to more political matters such as the political implications of particular cultural identity debates, and the link between political exclusion and the makings of hegemony in folkloric expressions, as was inevitable.

In the next section I will give an outline of the events covered as part of this study of festive practices in Oruro, in the Bolivian Andes.

2.2.2 Events Timeline

I arrived in the field in November 2007, the week after All Saints Day (1 November), which marks the beginning of the time of the dead and the beginning of the rainy season (jallupacha) in the agricultural calendar in the Andes. All Saints ceremonies among the Aymara include the making of special bread (*t'antawawas*), and the preparation of altars for the offerings destined to the spirits of the dead that come to visit the living during these celebrations. These rites are practised, with variations, in both urban and rural areas of the Bolivian and Peruvian Andes. Thus, the period marks the beginning of a series of rituals to relate to the dead so that they can intercede for the living, which are key ideas in Carnival, as discussed by Harris (2000) and Stobart (2006)[6].

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[5] The '*k'ara* v *t'ara*' discourse refers to the line of popular racialised debate that takes essencialist attitudes to k'ara as a sort of intrinsically colonial 'white' identity that despises the indigenous, and regards t'ara as the opposite end of the spectrum, that is, the troublesome and unruly Indian, insisting on backwardness and resisting modernity.

[6] See also the work of Fernández Juárez (2010) for a study of the urban rituals of skull exhumation of the 'Feast of the Ñatitas' in La Paz, Bolivia.

The Carnival parade takes place on the last weekend before Ash Wednesday, a Christian festivity, also coinciding with the end of the *jallupacha* (the rainy season) and the time of the dead in the Andes. Before and after the two-day parade, there are a number of other important festivities and events that are directly or indirectly connected to the Carnival (please see Appendix B for a detailed description of the calendar of the festive cycle in Oruro). This included:

- Rehearsals of the dance troupes, including those performed in the streets of the Carnival routes, and for all Orureños to see.
- A number of Patron Saint fiestas are part of this period, some of which were relevant to the actual social groups which took part in my study, such as the *Entrada a Santa Cecilia*, (Saint Cecilia Parade, 22 November), the patron saint of musicians.
- Monthly and weekly visits to the sites of pilgrimage for Andean deities, also known as *wak'as*, as these increase in frequency during the jallupacha period.
- Other fixed festivities of the region, such as the feast to the *Tío de la Mina*, the Andean deity of miners, considered a source for Carnival current Carnival expressions, as exposed by Condarco (1999, 2007).
- Events in the run up to the parade organised by the Church of the Mineshaft, which include concert-mass sessions, headed by contemporary pop groups.
- The *Festival de Morenada* (Morenada Festival), taking place two weeks before the Carnival weekend, when most of the bands featured in the parade perform Morenada music (one of Bolivia's most popular rhythms), accompanied by their wives and relatives dancing in costume.
- The *Festival de Bandas* (Brass Band Festival). One week before the Carnival weekend, as all the brass bands get together and perform well-known folkloric tunes in unison, often featured in Guinness Records publications for its large numbers of performers.
- The *Ekeko* Feast or Calvario Feast, which also takes place a week before Carnival. This feast is dedicated to the Ekeko, an Aymara deity of abundance, to which miniature offerings are given in exchange for good luck. This feast, however, is constantly being pushed out of the vicinity of the

Church of the Mineshaft by authorities on the account of the Ekeko being from La Paz rather than a local feature.

- And lastly, the rural and other non-mainstream danced parades which start to take place around the streets of Oruro three days before the Carnival parade, and finish around one month after the main parade. These events tend not to be featured in touristic brochures of the cultural life of the region.

I wanted to gain a wider perspective of the main event before deciding what angle and issues to focus on, so I attended as many of these as possible.

My focus centred on public displays rather than on the private or domestic aspects of the feasts. One of the reasons I decided to remain centred on public displays was because I knew that would cause less disturbance to informants – given that during this period, a lot of interest in the public performances, rehearsals, meetings and preparations is usually expected and well tolerated. Oruro is usually a quiet and rather conservative town, just as Orureños (as well as other Andeans) are generally rather private people. However, life tends to be transferred out into the streets and other public spaces in the lead up to Carnival more than at other times of the year. Indeed, a focal point on more intimate matters would have produced a different set of data, and this must be taken into consideration in the analysis.

One of the difficulties in dealing with a multi-sited and multi-layered festivity was how to establish boundaries between the different components of the festive and its many dimensions, and how to attempt to narrow down the research subject to a format that would be appropriate for academic research and a PhD dissertation. Indeed, the awareness that there was such an array of fascinating topics that merited academic focus was paralysing, and the more interconnected festive events I visited, and the more literature I read about the festive in the Andes, the harder it became to decide what the dissertation would be about in specific terms. As time went by, a focus on the relationship between different political projects of representation and festive practices became clearer. Understanding that the 'many-levelled' structure of ritual suggests that each level has internal sectors, each of which is capable of communicating many (sometimes seemingly contradictory) messages at once (Turner

1969)[7]. Therefore eventually I took the decision not to limit my 'coverage' of the public events or activities to the actual parade. Instead I tried to observe and take part in anything that had a link to the time and space of the festive in Oruro, from the more private religious meetings, to costume-making sessions, to music and dance rehearsals, as well as the more public dance displays. I had found that the leading up to fiestas proved to be just as important as the actual ritual display of the fiesta, so I decided to try to observe and participate, whenever possible, in most of the activities related to Carnival preparations, both public and private.

Different discourses are at play in the festive, as we will see in Chapter 4, relating to the diversity of actors and their worldviews, as well as the interconnectedness between them and issues of ethnicity, class and other social and cultural signifiers. In the next section, I shall offer a brief outline of the people who spoke and shared their experiences with me in Oruro, thanks to whom I was able to find a thread in the study, and give shape to this humble contribution to academic knowledge.

2.2.3 Multivocality: Multiple Actors, Multiple Discourses.

The choice of consultants, as both sources of information and people with whom I built up reciprocal relations, was determined both by some of the first contacts I made in Oruro (such as Don Celso C. of the GTADO who was introduced to me via a common acquaintance in London) and my own ability to judge of how significant Carnival seemed to be in the life of the person in question. Here, I shall explain the choice of informants/research actors and provide information on their involvement in the festivity in order to show the impact of the events in their lives and the influence they may have over Carnival practices. For more detailed information and images of the key actors, please go to Appendix A.

Of the many actors involved in Carnival, I decided to limit my research focus to four different ´types´ of actors. Firstly, the dancers (1). I approached people from a variety of dance troupes, ranging from some of the larger and better known ones to some of the smaller ones. I focused my attention on one type of Carnival dance in

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[7] See Bakhtin (1984 [1965]), for an in-depth description of the multilayeredness and polyphony of Carnival, which takes place as Carnival becomes engaged in a dialogical connection between the everyday and the 'upside-down' world of Carnival.

particular: the *Diablada* (Devil Dance), for it features most heavily in Carnival-related imagery, and within the Diablada I approached three of the five troupes dancing Diablada: the oldest conjunto, the GTADO (Gran Tradicional y Auténtica Diablada Oruro), which set up many of the practices which are now thought of as 'Carnival traditions'; the troupe formed by people from groups higher up the social ladder that originated the split in the eldest conjunto, and prompted the birth of new ones, the FACLD (Fraternidad Artística y Cultural "La Diablada"); and the youngest of them all, the DAU (Diablada Artística Urus), today very popular among the youth. I also approached three other conjuntos performing different dances. One was the comparatively smaller troupe, the Doctorcitos Itos, founded in 1980, for their uniqueness and their vulnerability: they are the only performers of the Doctorcitos dance and struggle to survive in the competitive arena of Carnival dances as they are under constant threat of closure by the authorities, according to their president (Armando Y., in interview). Then, the Cocanis, or Morenada Central de Oruro "Fundada por la Comunidad Cocani" performing the dance popularly considered Bolivia's 'national dance' ('*la danza mayor de Bolivia*'). This is the largest conjunto of them all. Last of all I approached the Caporales ENAF, because the *caporales* dance is among the most in demand for young people, and they rehearsed conveniently close to my house. Appendix C contains information on all the other conjuntos and a short description of their dance.

In most cases, the dancers and conjunto authorities I approached had devoted a good portion of their lives to the celebration of Carnival, therefore it seemed important to speak to a variety of people (of different social backgrounds, different ethnicity and age, dancing with different conjuntos, and so on) who had all invested together with their and their families in the yearly festive cycle.

The position of the parade as Bolivia's national folkloric demonstration and inclusion in the list of UNESCO's World Intangible Heritage has given it an official character. The cultural and religious authorities (2) in Oruro have left a significant imprint on the way Carnival is perceived and celebrated. There is a high degree of official management invested in its celebration; therefore it seemed highly important to explore this official perspective. The organisers of the Anata Andina (3), a rural parade, who outspokenly oppose the worldview that is projected by the Carnival

parade –with its hegemonic ethnic, religious and cultural mandates—have, for the last seventeen years offered an alternative platform to the performance and enactment of festive behaviour, therefore it seemed pertinent to include their perspective as part of what can be seen as a counter-hegemonic movement of decolonisation. Lastly, the miners (4) were approached as it emerged during the first stages of fieldwork that many of the traditions, which are perceived as 'ancient' Carnival practices, have been inherited from Oruro's miners, who in turn transformed their own rural practices to adapt to their new environment when they became 'employees' of the Crown during the colonial regime. This sample of participants and actors is by no means exhaustive, the street vendors and traders, the many more casual dancers who take part every so many years, constantly changing their troupe and style of dance, the visitors, or even the children participating of the effervescent activity around the parade could also be subject of observation and analysis.

As stated earlier, one of the most crucial challenges in the study was how to deal with the multivocality of the festivity, and the sheer multiplicity of actors and discourses in Oruro. In the Methodology section of this chapter, I attempt to explain the rationale used to overcome some of these challenges.

Now, after having established the actors and the events that informed my analysis, let us clarify my own positionality as researcher in the field.

2.3 Positionality

The influence of the ethnographer's subjectivity on her portrayal of the study subjects, is not contingent only on the demographics of age, gender, or even one's institutional connections/loyalties, but also evolves in terms of the ethnographer's life experiences as enablers of 'particular kinds of hindsight' (Rosaldo 1993 [1989]: 9), as well as carriers of a particular baggage of presuppositions, assumptions, and values.

My positioning in the debates, about the relationship between identity and the festive in Bolivia, emerge from my own perspective and experiences as a thirty-odd year old woman who was born in Bolivia and is now based at a UK-institution, with my own particular political and social agendas in mind.

As a child growing up (in Venezuela, where I lived all my childhood) I remember being told repeatedly at school – with each *world history* lesson on pre-Hispanic

civilisations – that we were *mestizos*, meaning 'you have half-Indian and half-Spanish blood'. However, we did not get to learn much about our Indian 'half'. Our indigenous heritage – in terms of the current lives of our indigenous fellow countrymen, as well as their customs, aesthetics and metaphysical values, cosmovision and technology – was neglected from the first day of the class onwards. Nothing was said of our African ancestry blatantly present in so many aspects of the cultural life of Venezuela, particularly in popular culture[8]. Instead, I observed that everything seemed to focus on the admiration of our Spanish ancestry, in school and elsewhere. I later reflected that if the 'legacy' of my ancestry had not undergone the process of filtering through the racist mentality of those in charge of my education at the time, I might have ended up 'more Indian' and 'more black'. As it was, in my Bolivian home away from home, I was merely taught to imitate a Westernised twentieth century interpretation of what was thought as being a Bolivian *mestiza*, and to actively despise any present-day expressions of indigeneity; and as part of the Venezuelan context, our *mestizaje* was only keen to adopt its blackness for folkloric end-of-year school dances and musical demonstrations. And as for our Indianness, well, Indians were those illiterate people in the jungle or up the mountains, who walked around naked, not us! In Bolivia words like '*chola*' (often used as an insult, denotes an urban Indian), '*india*' (Indian woman), '*imilla de porquería'* ('dirty Indian girl') and '*cara de llama'* ('llama face') were the reminders that indigenous associations were to be avoided. Whereas in my other 'home' country of Venezuela, it was through common use of insults like '*niche*' or '*mono*' (both insult-like words to indicate 'blackness'), '*negro de mierda'* ('shitty Black person'), '*macaco*' ('macaque', as an insult, links 'blackness' to 'monkeyness'), or in the expressions '*hablar como indio'* ('to speak like an Indian', or to demonstrate ignorance) and '*tierruo*' ('someone who is soiled with earth') that racial and cultural superiority was indicated.

My premise here is that heritage is also a discourse, affecting people's lives by shaping and re-shaping identity, and that it is, in many respects, a Western discourse at that. It has been suggested that there is a dominant Western discourse about heritage: the 'authorised discourse', based on giving precedence to particular 'things',

[8] For an analysis of the relationship between popular culture and African heritage in Venezuela, see the book *Afro-Americano Soy*, by Jesús García (2000)

such as museum pieces or ruins (Ashworth *et al* 2007: 4; see also Hall 2008, Smith 2006). Embedded in this discourse, often linked to ideas of nation and nationhood through the naturalisation of certain narratives and socio-cultural practices, a range of assumptions can be found regarding 'the innate and immutable cultural values of heritage' which are associated with notions of 'monumentality and aesthetics' (Ashworth *et al* 2007: 4). Adopting this perspective, I interpret cultural legacy as informed by someone's upbringing and life choices, personal aspirations, ethnic and kin loyalties, as much as through attachments to particular ideas of the past, ancestry, territory and the nation. I also acknowledge in this the influence of hegemony that helps to present a connection between certain cultural legacies and social inequality as natural, i.e. how certain social groups and their socio-cultural legacies are perceived as 'naturally' inferior to others as discussed by Turino (1993), drawing on Gramsci (1988 [1916]).

My own experience abroad has been another catalyst for this research. Firstly, as a Bolivian growing up in Venezuela and then, as a young Latin American in Europe. After spending some time in Spain, I felt a growing distance between my sense of belonging, and the Spanishness that had been so officiously embedded into me with each passing school year. There, as a twenty-year-old, whenever I went to find work or to find accommodation, I was a *sudaca*[9]. I was easily recognisable the moment I opened my mouth, to the point that after two years I completely changed my accent and lost all trace of my 'oral' foreignness in an attempt to erase my 'otherness'. Later, as a Latin woman in the UK – where being Latin did not have any significant historical connotations – I was confronted by my own identity by being immersed with so many other national identities sharing the same overcrowded space and time in London. As I had observed with so many other migrants who become more Nigerian, more Colombian or even more Muslim when they leave their own societies, I felt pushed into reclaiming my own nationality, despite the fact that I had left Bolivia at the age of five. After witnessing many Latin American events of popular culture organised and attended by migrants like myself, where each community brings their own folkloric acts, food and flag (i.e. the *Carnaval del Pueblo* in London), I felt I too had to adopt a

[9] Common derogatory term for people of South American origin, used primarily as a racial slur.

sort of unquestionable patriotism. These events made me wonder about my own legacy and sense of belonging – what was I, a Bolivian-Venezuelan? What flag would I be more attached to at one of these multinational concerts? Would I be a Bolivian who couldn't dance any of the folkloric dances or a Venezuelan with a 'foreign passport'?

It was thanks to these initial unelaborate questions that I became interested in performative practices. What makes the performance of national traditions so powerful to embody and to witness, such as the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee in the UK in 2002, the opening of the Olympic games in China 2008, the procession of Londoners wrapped up in the Colombian flag around Elephant and Castle? What is the impact of the performance of 'tradition' on the actors and the audience? For 'tradition', I am borrowing from Hall (1996), whose definition of tradition states that it operates as a value that is explicit and relatively constant of people's relationships to one another, and of the values that their exchanges generate (pp 39, 49). Tradition is thus about setting and confirming peoples' 'own routes' which derive from exchange over time, often linked to ideas of 'authenticity'.

In the context of folkloric traditions that have been taken out of their original context, some questions emerge. Do the actors always have to identify with the original context of the 'tradition' for it to be more 'authentic'? Or, to illustrate the question with an example, do the urban transnational Tinku dancers in the Carnaval del Pueblo need to know much about the rural performers of the Tinku rituals in Macha, Potosí? Do these mainly urban folkloric dancers, who often perceive themselves as the bearers of ancestral heritage, consider their fellow indigenous Tinku dancers their equals? Do they indeed see these Indians as sharing their same 'ancestry', same blood, and same values? Another important question that arose during these initial questionings was 'could you represent a 'tradition' (i.e. rural ritual fighting) you have not yourself inherited/performed'? Bigenho has pointed out that folkloric representations of indigenous voices 'have come to represent the national' even as Bolivians themselves are debating at home about what it means to be Bolivian, and how much of an indigenous component it has (2007: 249). All these questions were the beginnings of my explorations around the different ideas and discourses of heritage at play in festive performance, and the role indigeneity plays in that.

At the same time, as a Bolivian abroad my line of questioning for the PhD was also led by intermittent feelings of nostalgia, 'outsidedness', and nationalism. Without a doubt, these experiences and feelings also informed my enquiry and analysis, and led me to change the focus from the initial concerns with the realm of the symbolic in performance, onto the relationship between identity, belonging, representation and festive performance.

Next, I would like to explore my own role as academic researcher in two ways which are interconnected: in terms of the impact of *emotions* the researcher feels during fieldwork and ethnographic data collection, and in terms of the positioning of the researcher as *insider/outsider* in terms of the culture-world under study. In my case, my position as 'insider' (although with reservations, which I will discuss in the following paragraphs) researching my own society had an impact on the already emotional journey of ethnography.

2.3.1 Vulnerability in the field

Ruth Behar (1996) has already discussed how emotions and experience impact the angle and output of social researchers in the field. Her own work picks up from the initiatives by *testimonio* writers, who write in the first person of their historical experiences as members of subjugated communities, such as Rigoberta Menchú, and the writings of Chicana and other ethnic minority writers in the US, who emotionally and subjectively speak of the world and their understanding of history (i.e. Anzaldúa 1999 [1987]).

My own motivations for doing research marked the journey and directed my findings, my readings and all the other data that made it to the paper. There was the inevitable inclusion of my own personal story – as a Bolivian researcher, as someone who prefers moving and contact to mere observation, as someone living in Europe, as a woman of my generation wanting to achieve something for my family and my country (and a long etcetera). The difficulty now is, as pointed out by Behar (1996), articulating through words the emotional journey the ethnographer undergoes, not just as an 'insider researcher' but as someone intruding into other people's lives, probing into the making of their identities and their personhoods. Inevitably, many of the questions I put to my interviewees were issues I had long mulled over in my own head. For instance, I enquired about what it means to be of a particular 'ethnic

category' in the context of racialised politics in Bolivia, which is one of the ways in which Bolivians place each other on the social map in order to establish the borders of social differentiation. These processes are particularly active in Oruro as in many other Andean urban centres which occupy a space of 'borderlands': between the city and the countryside, between 'indigeneity' and 'urbanity', inhabited by Aymara-speaking, Quechua-speaking and Spanish-speaking Bolivians.

Having lived most of my life as a Bolivian abroad, I never identified with the category of *blanca* or 'Creole White' because I am aware that it implies a rejection of indigenousness, and I am proud of my indigenous heritage and I do not contest my own hybridity. *'Mestiza'*, on the other hand, always seemed too unstable and ever-changing for it to be worth attaching myself to it, and its legitimacy has been contested by more radical indigenous movements (see Sanjinés 2002 work on *katarismo*). 'Indigenous', however, indicates an 'experience' and an upbringing which has been denied to me, out of the shame and concern of previous generations to minimize indigeneity in processes of self-identification. Having lived abroad so long I have lost traces of the signs of the more nuanced categories that connect whiteness, *mestizoness* and indigenousness that exist in hierarchy in the minds of Bolivians. I am not thus easy to 'situate' in the 'usual' social maps.

An emotional experience of my hybridity became much more prominent during fieldwork. During my life abroad, away from my Bolivian home, the feelings of being in a live place of encounter – Anzaldúa's 'open wound' (la '*herida abierta*'), where several cultures edge each other intimately, using the same body (Anzaldúa 1999) – had been dormant, because the conventions that assign particular racialised identities to people in Bolivia didn't necessarily apply elsewhere. On coming back 'home' though, they were activated once more. In some of my encounters with people in the polarised world of Andean racial politics in Oruro, in the context of choosing interviewees, of attending ritual ceremonies performed by particular social groups, of trying to imagine how others see me, I experienced first-hand Anzaldúa's idea of the self as uncomfortable territory, filled with contradictions and the struggle of identities, where it becomes hard to differentiate the imposition, from the heritage, from the acquired (Anzaldúa 1999: 104).

As a result, I found that these feelings made it difficult to locate oneself in one's text (Behar 1996:13), as the filters through which I, as researcher, perceive the world and the topic of festive practices and its links to processes of identification and representation in the field, are more often than not, multi-layered and even contradictory, as identified by Clifford and Marcus (1986), but also loaded with emotions and subjectivity.

Foreign scholars who enter the field as 'outsiders' might in the more fortunate cases become accepted on the basis of their approach to others, how well they communicate their research project and how much interest they show in the local culture. As for my own experience, as a 'home' person, I often felt I had to constantly prove that I had significant previous knowledge, that I was not there to appropriate information, or to pursue a particular political agenda pro one group or another. Most people were welcoming and generous, but sometimes I felt a certain disdain coming from people on the basis of their assumptions of who I ought to be, as a highly educated Paceña living in England, and I wonder if this was not sometimes a cause for people to withhold information from me, or to reshape it in order to fit with their preconceived idea of who I was. Their judgements could sometimes cause anger, sadness, and other times I even felt exhilarated at being able to make sense of the ways in which Bolivians can be so contradictory, making me understand a little more about the complex webs of meaning at play in every interaction as a negotiation of identity and recognition.

To follow, I would like to discuss the implications of positioning myself as 'insider' or 'outsider' researcher in the field.

2.3.2 Insider/Outsider

Traditionally, identifying the researcher as an 'insider' or 'outsider' places the person on a cultural-political map that relates their role to a place of intimacy with the cultures under study. Each 'position' presents particular research dilemmas. However, I found that there comes a point fairly early on when the division insider/outsider is not a useful one, as also noted by authors such as Narayan (1993), Sahlins (1995) and Romero (2001). Narayan (1993) has argued that given that culture is never homogenous, internal differences exist in societies, and a researcher's links to institutions serves to guide identities and particular political projects. Therefore, we

have to focus instead on the notion of 'shifting identifications' in the context of power relations as I will demonstrate here.

Technically, I could be perceived as an 'outsider' because I have lived abroad a good number of years, and even though I tried to keep up-to-date about all the important developments, the familiarity that comes with the everyday is no longer there. Nevertheless, as I arrived on the field in 2007 from my base in the UK, I still carried a particular 'baggage' of Bolivianness that allowed me to understand and 'decodify' certain aspects more easily.

Also, from the start, I knew I wanted to join in and participate in the action rather than placing myself exclusively as an observer. I decided to join in as a Carnival dancer (a process I shall also discuss in more detail in the Methods section) in order to become more of an 'insider' but also in the realisation that my experience could not be compared with that of a lifetime dedicated to this important local tradition, as was the case for many of the actors in this research. Neither insider nor outsider, where did I stand? How cross-cultural was my engagement with the Oruro dancers?

Looking at myself, from the 'native point of view' (Rosaldo 1993 [1989]) was a very confusing task. I was Bolivian in so many ways, but in others I was not: sometimes I was perceived as Argentinean, Chilean, or *Camba* (someone from the different cultural environment of the lowlands region in Bolivia) given the Caribbean inflections in my accent and my fairer skin. It was clear I was not an Orureña, but I was still a *Colla*[10].

Beyond place of origin, a person's socio-cultural roots are also at play when deciding if someone is or is not an 'insider'. I was not a *mañasa*, or an agricultural or manual worker as many of my interviewees were, but having always lived as an immigrant, and more recently making a living in 'migrant jobs' in Europe, meant that I could empathise to an extent with the lives of the *mañasos*, costume-makers and other Carnival actors working in manual and lowly paid jobs that I interviewed. On the other hand, the authority figures and more elite members of society felt reassured by

[10] Colla is used familiarly to describe people from the mountainous region in Bolivia. Cambas, from the lowlands, sit in contrast, and are popularly imagined to be an ethnically different kind of people. Being born in La Paz, makes me a colla, the same as Orureños. Sometimes, Colla and Camba are used for making racist and derogatory remarks.

my level of education, and related to that as though we were on equal terms in some respects.

It sometimes took quite a bit of sharing and self-introduction (i.e. why my accent was different, how I ended up living in the UK) to bring people to see my positionality, which was understandable if I expected people to share personal information with me for the research. In fact, these conversations were often good icebreakers, as having shared quite a bit about my life, people felt more inclined to share theirs with me.

However, as someone who is politically engaged and personally invested in my own society, I also knew I would be uncomfortable with the idea of being perceived or acting as 'a scientist working in the laboratory that the participant observation provides' as a tradition of ethnography claims to do (Agar 1996: 9).

On the one hand, the research deals with my own society, therefore my participation in the processes and dynamics of the study is implicit in my citizenship, and is reflected in my search to participate actively in Carnival practices, as active participant, rather than to act as a passive observer. However, my participation went beyond 'participant experience in the field'. I have never stopped seeing myself as an agent actively involved in the diaspora, as an actor of what Bolivian philosopher Juan José Bautista terms 'a social and communal space called Bolivia' (Bautista 2010: 14, my translation).

Rosaldo has expressed well this situation, as a Chicano researcher studying Chicano culture: 'For me, as a Chicano, questions of culture emerge not only from my discipline, but also from a more personal politics of identity and community' (Rosaldo 1993 [1989]: xi).

These concerns, guided by Said's questioning: 'who writes and for whom'? (Said 1983, quoted by Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 37), led me to be curious about the politics of representation. The exercise of power relations in research moves us to consider how certain worlds (indigenous, third world, ethnic minorities) are being represented back to 'the' audience (which mostly consists of Western readers), as discussed by Maori educational scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999: 37). Thus, I agree when Tuhiwai Smith stresses the political significance of 'representation' as a concept, in that it gives 'the impression of "truth"' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 35).

I support Tuhiwai Smith's view that historically, research has oppressed indigenous people, and this includes academic writing privileging particular agendas and approaches on what is considered significant for science, as part of a knowledge-seeking tradition which more often than not does not represent indigenous actors (Tuhiwai Smith 1999), or that represents them without giving them the opportunity to claim their own voice. Therefore as part of my own research agenda, I seek to avoid appropriation of indigenous practices (which has been an historic instrument used by non-indigenous groups to legitimise hegemonic practices against indigenous peoples), whilst acknowledging indigeneity – something which has been denied to me – as a part of the identity that I wish to develop.

As part of this agenda, I have to acknowledge that despite my apparent feeble position as an 'insider', I am still a stakeholder in terms of identity-making projects such as those depicted in this study of the festive in Oruro in the context of nation-making and representational performative practices.

I am also in this for the recovery of my own identity and cultural memory, and to gain and offer a fuller picture of 'national identity' in my country, as part of a wider decolonising framework to which this research humbly aims to contribute. This process implies, as proposed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), creating and applying decolonising methodologies that free research from historical intentions to appropriate and objectify indigenous actors and knowledges for hegemonic purposes; whilst acknowledging that participating in theory-making makes it possible to deal with the 'contradictions and uncertainties' that colonisation and the resulting rupture in cultural continuities brought about, by helping those at stake to put reality into perspective (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 38).

The course of analysis I have undertaken is engaged in an attempt to decolonise knowledge through an examination of contrasting realities and discourses through the lens of the state of the festive in Oruro. As such, it is also an exercise of recovery of indigenous knowledges from the past, in that it examines how the development of the festive in Oruro across time has followed a hegemonic project that silences indigenous contributions and denies indigenous actors the right to speak for themselves.

To finish this discussion about my positionality as researcher, once more my position as an actor of the 'borderlands' (neither insider nor outsider, neither fully

indigenous nor fully non-indigenous) comes into play. Anzaldúa (1999) has talked about the potential of borders in helping to explain human understanding, by acting in a pluralistic mode where nothing is rejected. Rosaldo has also argued for the greater insights acquired when one's point of departure is a challenge to the notion of culture as homogenous and self-contained (1993 [1989]: 217). These reflections have proved enriching when looking at the multivocal dimensions of Carnival practices and when reflecting upon my own role.

I have to agree with Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2006), on seeing research as an activity of hope: the search for solutions that have always occupied indigenous peoples – that is, social inclusion, resource distribution and access to land, and the right to self-determination in cultural, political, material and spiritual terms. Research thus becomes a 'social, intellectual and imaginative activity' (Tuhiwai Smith 2006: 157) done for the interest of the community. In the case of the Andes, where I am appealing to a Quechua-Aymara context, this can become a way to propel 'The 'intersubjective consciousness of Bolivians throughout history',[11] borrowing the words of Juán José Bautista (2010: 38, my translation). Therefore, my response to Agar's line of questioning back in 1996, 'can you really do ethnography in your own society?' (Agar 1996:17), would be a resounding yes. More than an option, as I see it, it becomes a duty to critically engage, and to produce the theoretical field to bring about improvement—not just theories that illustrate exotic and distant places and cultures, or accounts of how, in the case of dominated societies, 'they lived and they suffered – and then they died' (Sahlins 1995:198). My commitment to the topic of study goes far beyond the pursuit of an academic career in the UK, or the advancement of knowledge *per se*.

Whether or not as an 'insider', I am a stake-holder in the society of study, because on it depends my own future and the future of my community – that of my children and our future generations.

In the next section, I shall discuss how these concerns and the circumstances that arose in the field, led the data collection, and how those preoccupations evolved into particular research methods.

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[11] 'la conciencia intersubjetiva del boliviano en la historia'

2.4 Methodological Approaches: Gaining Focus

Given the nature of the phenomena in question: how festive practices help to define the subjectivity of their actors, I started my research with a series of general concepts based on areas I had investigated in more depth in the literature review, namely Identity, Race, Mestizaje (ideas of cultural and biological mixing in Latin America), Embodiment, Performance, and Folklore and the Nation, which then gave place to a more refined angle connecting many of these initial topics. It was important in the early stages of analysis of such a multifaceted and multivocal phenomenon such as Carnival to have a wide focus over the subject matter.

From there, I was able to formulate some interview questions and to identify possible contributors. These were the questions that led the start of the research, and some of the lines of enquiry that emerged from them:

1) Who is taking part (who are the actors)? To determine how diverse participation really is in light of the event being 'truly representational' of Bolivians, as professed by one of the then-leading authorities of the festivity Ascanio Nava (2004) in the following quote:

> This sacred time and space, where many cultures converge in harmony and tolerance, is the stage for a number of economic, social, religious and cultural possibilities, generated by the forces that arise from it (Nava 2004: 80, my translation).[12]

2) What motivates people to take part? To determine the extent to which issues of belonging, and/or socially, culturally, materially or politically positioning oneself were at play, as significantly as religion.

3) What concerns people when they dance? This led me to want to find out more about people's own preoccupations with the 'authenticity' and 'validity' of their actions with regard to tradition; and material and social concerns.

4) How does transmission work? What is being communicated through festive performance, and how? What is its impact on people's lives?

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[12] 'Este espacio y tiempo sagrados, donde convergen muchas culturas y conviven en paz y tolerancia, es escenario para muchas posibilidades económicas, sociales, religiosas y culturales que son generadas por su gran energía'.

The ideas generated by these initial questions and concepts pointed me in the direction of certain events I wanted to record: some of the preparatory rites for Carnival participation, the homes and working lives of some of the actors, the actions of the Church and cultural authorities.

By remaining open to other sources of information, I was able to approach other, less visible, Carnival actors, such as the musicians and the dress-makers, and the inhabitants of Oruro and its surroundings who don't take part (but still influence and are influenced by the celebration), for example the organisers of the Anata Andina rural parade who for a long time did not identify with the values promoted in the official parade, and instead adapted their own rural traditions to penetrate urban festive practices (Ivan Z., in interview).

2.4.1 Grounded Theory

Looking back, I realise that even before reading the proposed ideas of *Grounded Theory* (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001, Glaser 1978), I intuitively used many of its precepts. *Grounded Theory* encourages a focus on the analysis rather than on the existing arguments on the subject in order to build an original theoretical framework that interprets unique data (Charmaz 2006: 12). The main idea behind *Grounded Theory* is to take a fresh look each time, without the reliance on stock disciplinary concepts, and with the freedom to continuously refine the focus and create new categories.

This methodological approach is guided by a set of principles and practices which lead to finding out what takes place, when and how; if and how the actors are organised and what practices they employ; and how actors justify their participation in terms of what they seek and what they gain (Charmaz 2006: 24).

Treating the context as the source of questions when approaching the field, rather than a given theoretical framework (one of the premises of interpretative anthropology), allowed the complexities of personal and institutional motivations for people's participation to come through. As a result, theoretical categories came later in the analysis, such as how ethnicity and the politics of representation came into play. The continuation of this line of enquiry led me to focus on ideas of subjectivity as a

significant part of this study: how the historical subject, the community subject, and the political subject are articulated and embodied through Carnival practices.

When I left for the field, my head was filled with questions about the powers of the performative. I had not anticipated the importance of ideas of cultural legacy in identity-making processes until I met with the Heritage and Tourism Officer at the Mayor's Office in Oruro, Carlos Delgado, which took place towards the end of the fieldwork. Up to that point, I had been more interested in meeting a diverse number of actors of the festive to gather their expressions of 'performative experience', much more focused on the present than ideas of the past. Intuitively, however, I used one of the most commended strategies of *Grounded Theory*, which is to 'seek data, describe observed events, answer fundamental questions about what is happening, then develop theoretical categories to understand it' (Charmaz 2006: 25), by keeping an open mind to new data at each step of the way, and always remaining ready to collect and include new data in the evolving narratives emerge from the fieldwork. As a result, I collected enough information about 'persons, processes, and settings' (Charmaz 2006: 18-19), which allowed me to deal with an important shift in the focus that was dictated by the relevance of the data. I transferred my focus from 'the performative' onto 'cultural transmissions' at a relatively later stage.

If my general approach to the field (which can in retrospect be defined as *Grounded Theory*) was the result of my reactions to the events, actions and words that emanated from the context, there were particular ingredients in the field that required prior consciousness. In this respect, given the performative nature of the phenomenon, there are two other methodological approaches that were helpful: a focus on qualitative analysis and the mediatory role of embodied practices.

2.4.2 Qualitative Analysis

Without a doubt, the interpretative focus of this research emphasises the role of social constructions of reality emerging from festive processes in Oruro.

I have adopted a post-positivist approach emphasising the qualitative aspects of experience of the actors of the festive in the Andes that acknowledges the impossibility of apprehending the reality of the people under study (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). I have attempted to offer a self-reflective interpretation of the processes and

actions based on grounding my analysis in the 'rich descriptions' (Geertz 1973) collected in the field about how social experience develops for the research actors from their lives and everyday context.

According to Charmaz, the first grounded theory question to ask is: what is happening in the field's situation that we are confronted with, aiming for an interpretative portrayal of the world we study, rather than its representation (2006: 20). In order to interpret my surroundings, I attempted to attend to actions and processes (behaviour and events) as much as I did to discourses (what people say in interviews, press or books, for example). In this way I was able to find that people's hidden assumptions were sometimes contradicted by their actions, or had their actions inadvertently affected by these pre-suppositions (Charmaz 2006: 21). This allowed me to see the tensions and contradictions in the official discourses that affirm that all Bolivians are represented by the Carnival parade when it eventually became obvious that many poor and indigenous people were left out of it because of their social, religious or ethnic positioning.

One of the precepts that has led my line of research is the knowledge that writing about indigeneity in Bolivia is a political endeavour because dealing with 'Indians' means dealing with politics, as Tuhiwai Smith has argued elsewhere (1999: 110), because Indians are never free from political pressure. Linda Tuhiwai Smith has argued that research is inextricably linked to imperialism, as knowledge collected from colonised people is categorised and classified, before being fed to the West to provide ways to talk about the Other.

From this juncture, I assumed that my own role, as someone personally invested in the politics of representations of research, was to question what has been said about cultural heritage in Bolivia, and attempt to internalise those responses to produce a historical reconfiguration of discourses, actors and contexts that could offer Bolivians a chance to re-imagine the past in more real terms. I have aimed to do this, by treating my own research on cultural practices, as a 'space of hope' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 4), engaged in a wider network of attempts to decolonise subjectivities, including my own.

In the end I made use of two main methodological approaches that arose from my application of Grounded Theory practices: the decolonising methodological approach put forward by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and ethnography.

In short, by treating the actors as active participants in the construction of social reality, a participatory ethnographic approach allowed me to delve into the processes of how festive actors construct their realities by choosing to take part in a particular dance troupe, or festive event, in order to experience these contexts as cultural frameworks from where to project particular ideas of themselves. The eventual combination of decolonising and ethnographic methodologies made my interpretations much more reflexive, and focused on an analysis of the politics of representation at stake in the context of the festive in the Andes. A grounded approach allowed me to continuously 'shape and reshape' the process of data collection, and constantly refine the focus by using qualitative methods (such as participant observation and participant experience, which I shall explain later) as flexible interpretative tools.

Firstly, I shall briefly expose my choice of embodied and performative practices as a case-study for an analysis for the politics of representation at the level of identity discourses of the national.

2.4.3 A Case-study on Embodied Practices

I would suggest that to treat embodied performative practices as having separate functions and platforms from the written word has opened up the analysis of the mediatory powers of festive and popular expressions onto the dimension of 'cultural recognition', in the words of Martín-Barbero (2003: xxviii).

This perspective is illuminated in light of Carnival's status as Bolivia's most significant expression of national cultural intangible heritage in the context of mediation of discourses of national identity through the danced parade and other embodied practices.

Looking at embodied practices, as well as written sources to understand a culture has been discussed in length by Taylor (2003). In Western epistemology, literacy has been identified as the main media for knowledge transfer, but Howard et al. (2002) argue that unlike with alphabetic writing, visual representation and language, as

means of recording, have been kept as interdependent media in the Andes. Arnold and Yapita (2006) also demonstrate how information was embodied and transmitted in weavings, visual and embodied practices before the Conquest (Arnold and Yapita 2006: 22-23, see also contributions to Howard-Malverde ed. 1997b; Howard and Stobart eds. 2002). This tells us something about how Andean populations continue to manage their own textuality within or in the face of larger 'textual spheres' (Taylor 2003:17), such as European writing and the recording of History, and highlights the importance of looking at embodied and performative practices in critical interpretations of social processes in the Andes.

The linearity of written language lacks the sonic dimension of oral, visual and embodied media, which comes to life at performances where the text is not 'read' but 'witnessed' in all its dimensions for meaning. In the Carnival, the text and its discourse become corporeal danced and sung. It is therefore possible to assert that, dynamised by ancient Andean textual practices based on weaving and the cloth, dancing, music, dress, oratory, and more importantly, performance, all become part of modern Andean textuality—and this prompts us to treat textualities, as suggested by Arnold and Yapita, as 'vital sites for constructing identity and subjectivity' (2006: 23).

I adopted a focus on dance, because of its acknowledged significance as a medium of information transmission in the Andes (Mendoza 2000, Estenssoro 1992), which succeeds in bringing the body into focus (using the body itself and not language), by turning the gaze of the spectator onto themselves (Gilbert 2006 [1995]: 305).

From the basis provided by the work of Mendoza (2000), who has explored how dance helps in the redefinition of identities that emerge from everyday links to occupation, ethnicity, class, age, gender, and so on as much as they do from history and politics, one of the concerns that prompted this research was the suspicion that the embodiment of Carnival in Oruro (through dancing, parading through the city, eating and drinking, playing water games) had identity-making properties, something that was later corroborated in the analysis. In other words, I approached dance and the embodiment of Carnival traditions, as a source of data by looking at embodied 'scenarios' in comparsa dancing 'as meaning-making paradigms' engaged in social dialogue (Taylor 2003: 28), and as a way to comment on important socio cultural

values 'such as decency, elegance, genuineness, modernity, and folklore' as well as on the dichotomies that dancers have to confront in their daily lives with regard to their own subjectivity: rich/poor, white/Indian, rural/ urban, Orureño/Boliviano, etc. (Mendoza 2000:41).

In the next section, I shall give some consideration to how the methodological framework prompted particular methods in the collection of empirical data that were conducive to appropriate ethical and academic outcomes.

2.5 Methods

My aim was to apply a critical interpretative approach based on the analysis of qualitative data. To collect this data alongside the considerations explained in the previous section, I employed four main methods:

- Ethnography, which was aided by the use of audio-visual means of collecting data
- 'Participant Experience' as an aspect of the ethnography, for the study of the performative aspects of the research
- Interviews
- Archival Research

2.5.1 Ethnography and Participant Experience

Anthropologists concerned with the representational aspects of writing have explored the dilemmas of 'writing culture' from one culture, about another (Marcus and Fischer 1986, Fabian 2002, Geertz 1973, Clifford 1986). Since Geertz, ethnography has pushed for a move away from the 'hegemony of positivist social science' onto how ethnographers and social researchers construct meaning, and how interpretations are constructions by researchers (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 26).

This study situates itself in the use of direct, first-hand observation concerned with the interpretation of culture, as put forward by Geertz in the 1970s. However, as a decolonising methodological approach would demonstrate (Tuhiwai Smith 1999), much of academic research reporting is done away from the culture under study onto places of power and control. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), Gupta and Ferguson (1997), Said (2003 [1978]) and other social analysis concerned with the plight of colonised peoples have argued that research remains 'implicated in the worst excesses of

colonialism' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 1), for instance by creating theoretical frameworks that naturalised domination (i.e. scientific racism).

From this perspective, to think of ethnography as a means to interpret cultural representations (Geertz 1973) of the festive in the Andes, only becomes a useful project when considering power relations among the different actors of the festive. Thus the focus here is on how the politics of representation operate in the festive: how power dynamics affect, silence or stress particular views and actors in the making of representational discourses of national cultural heritage through the performance of dance and festive behaviour.

In response to this, I have claimed an allegiance to the idea proposed by *Grounded Theory* (Charmaz 2006) that 'we construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices' (Charmaz 2006: 10). Therefore, in my own ethnographic approach I aimed to 'see the world' as the research actors do by immersing myself in the field as much as possible, and by using my background – my previous experience in folk dance, my 'baggage' as a fellow-Bolivian, and any human trait that was at my disposal – to allow me to empathise and gain as close an insight as possible.

Also, I decided to join a comparsa as a fellow-dancer, the GTADO, to gain the trust of the people involved in the events of my study, and gain further insights than as mere observer. This method of active involvement has been called Participant Experience (Potter 2008: 71). I aimed to put myself through the experience of the performative that many of my fellow Bolivians went through as means of participation in the making of 'national culture' in the understanding that identity takes place on two social levels, intimately, in our continuous dialogue with 'significant others', and publicly, in the politics of recognition (Taylor 1992: 36). Thus, by subjecting my own identity to this performative dialogue with the nation, I would further understand and also be a player in the politics of recognition.

2.5.2 Participant Experience

Caroline Potter coined the term 'participant experience' as operating different dynamics from involved those in participant observation (2008: 446, based on the work of Hsu 1999), in that the role of the ethnographer goes from that of passive

observer to that of participant in the action – 'learning by doing' (see Chapter 5) with the subjects of study.

As a dancer-researcher, I was able to experience the learning process of becoming a Carnival Diablada dancer (as novice dancers do), which allowed me almost daily access to the research community through rehearsals, costume preparations. This also allowed for the possibility of approaching people for more structured interview situations in a personal and relaxed manner, rather than through the role of the researcher which always implies a change in the dynamics (Potter 2008: 447). One of the main advantages of participant experience, as suggested by Potter is having access to 'one's own set of sensory experiences (including emotions) that stemmed from the training process' in terms of the choreographic and bodily skills (2008: 447), as well as in the spiritual and social aspect of the ceremonies.

Undergoing this process myself allowed me to get closer to understanding what dancers invest themselves in when taking part in the festivity – what it means to learn, to perform, to be a subject, and an agent. The feeling of exhilaration on 'reaching the virgin' and finishing the parade is something I had heard talk about numerous times, but I was only able to understand it when I had experienced it myself, on Carnival Saturday 2008. Kneeling in front of the Virgin after the three-hour parade felt right and exhilarating without further rationalisation. I shared in the numerous events and activities around the parade, some of them less solemn than others. This included the post-parade parties in the streets, in which people engage on the basis of enjoyment and joviality rather than solemnity, a perspective that has rarely been included in social scientific analysis of the parade. This enriched my view of the festivities considerably, allowing me to see a different aspect to what is professed for the cameras and microphones (even those of researchers).

I went through the learning process that new dancers experience as they are first introduced to the conjunto. In fact, I was able to see that 'new' GTADO dancers are never totally new to Carnival dancing, as they would normally have a relative dancing or be the member of a mañaso family who supports and participates in the events. These insights were particularly useful in the analysis of how people relate to official ideas of heritage transmission (based largely on books and writing) in detriment of

those practices that are passed on orally or through performance ('doing') from generation to generation.

The disadvantages of participant experience, as noted by Potter (2008:71), are significant too. I was unable to really involve myself significantly with other comparsas because I 'belonged' to the GTADO. This gave me an identity in the eyes of others, and possibly in my own eyes too, and meant that my time was occupied in fulfilling all the duties of a member. These duties, such as attending preparatory rites are part of the protocol of comparsas members. To counteract this, I sometimes used the help of a colleague, filmmaker Mónica Rubio, to help me film an event that I was also taking part in as a dancer, namely the filming of the actual Carnival parade.

I became over-familiarized with many aspects of the comparsa life, which meant that I possibly overlooked some important details. I noticed some of these in particular when seeing the *rushes* (images onto tape) collected by my colleague. Her eyes had taken a fresher look at some of the more seemingly mundane aspects of the fiesta, such as the reactions of the people in the audience or of street vendors during the parade, a reminder that there were plenty of 'playful' aspects to the celebration, which I was neglecting with my very serious socially scientific 'eye'.

As Potter (2008) also notes, taking part in physical activity brings about exhaustion. There were a couple of times, especially at the height of celebrations very close to the Carnival parade, when I was too tired or too drunk to attend other important events. The amount of alcohol consumption that comes with the dancing in a conjunto cannot be overlooked, one is expected to drink and people are expected to make you drink. To counteract these research 'absences' I collected newspaper cuttings about the events, I asked people to describe them to me, tried to get a general feel for them, but it is of course not the same as experiencing it. However, all in all, I am confident that the positive outweighs the negative outcomes, particularly in view of other discussions on the Oruro Carnival, which present an eloquent but fairly distant interpretation of the event as a rather serious affair (Abercrombie 1992).

2.5.3 Interviews

I used interviewing techniques learned in my documentary background, which are very similar to those used by ethnographers: establishing a rapport before engaging in

questioning, asking open-ended questions, and evoking situations to provoke fuller answers that include context. I allowed one interview to lead me into another, by following leads given by people in their answers and reflections, and with the aim to include a good range of perspectives. Often, the first opportunities for exchange with an actor were introducing myself, the research, what I was planning to do with it, and my own participation in the events – this was in order to establish a good rapport and engage the individual more personally. Oruro is a relatively small city so people got to know me and my family soon enough as we all moved about doing our daily business, sharing space and time, and many common habits.

I included focus groups, as well as individual conversation. I approached the elite (cultural and religious authorities, conjunto authorities) carefully understanding that it isn't always possible to establish a previous rapport with public and important figures because their time is less accessible and they are used to interview set-ups. Some were more accessible, others took a lot of chasing, but in the end, I was able to speak to almost everyone I wanted to. (Go to Appendix A, for a detailed list of the contributors)

Many of the interviews were either audio-recorded, photographed, or recorded on camera, which leads to discussing one of the most significant aspects of this Methods section: my choice of collecting data by audiovisual means, and including an audiovisual component in the dissertation.

Some of the most interesting and enlightening interviews were unstructured conversations I shared with Carnival actors and researchers. They provided a political backdrop and placed the Carnival in the context of the political climate of the times. Of importance were the reflections on the political scenario of Bolivia at the time of Oruro from anthropologists Javier Romero and Marcelo Lara Barrientos, who helped me bring my critical eye away from the spectacle issues onto the socio-political aspects of national society displayed through the fiesta. Also important was the dialogue with Carlos Condarco because it broadened my understanding to include issues of cultural continuities evoking and dreaming through the landscape and oral narratives of the past.

2.5.4 Visual Ethnography

The role of vision in ethnography, as in the 'ethnographer's ways of seeing', has been discussed elsewhere (Grimshaw 2003), whereby the camera becomes an extension of the overly ocular world of ethnography. The camera also allows for a more permanent and complete record of the events of our ethnographic study, in that it is able to absorb a lot more information than the naked eye.

To build upon these ideas, with regard to the use of video in ethnography, Pink (2007) has discussed the rapport between video and the process of production of ethnographic knowledge. Rather than seeing video as mere recording tool of 'visual facts' the author has argued that the camera's gaze (operated by the ethnographer) becomes imbued in the process of production and representation of ethnographic knowledge. The potential of video as a recording method (video as text), avoiding losing important visual data during interviews and events, has to be measured, or at least considered, against the understanding that it cannot be assumed that video recording will capture the 'untainted reality' of the situation but rather that it will become a part of it (Pink 2007: 103).

On consideration when approaching the field with a video camera is how people culturally interact with it (Pink 2007: 100). In Oruro, cameras are a common sight during the festivities. However, in the smaller more intimate gatherings, although cameras are often welcome, they are much less of a common sight. When I was seen filming, people tended to assume that it must be a broadcast news programme or, possibly, a student film. In the case of public events, people would show themselves to be preoccupied with their own image, given the wide visibility of news programmes; in the other instance, in the more private scenarios of Carnival, the presence of the camera attracted attention and undoubtedly created a tension that would not have been there otherwise, and brought to light that permission and consent would be formally required.

I tried to introduce the camera from the very first encounters. Either people saw me with it in the distance and associated me with it, or I mentioned that it was an important part of the research at the outset of a rapport.

I tried to film everything apart from when I was rehearsing or performing, which meant sometimes requiring permission from others to bring a collaborator.

Undoubtedly this is something that influenced the actions and behaviours of people, as people tend to have preconceived ideas about how to behave in front of a video camera (Pink 2007: 101).

As a result, when I first approached people they tended to speak as people do in news programmes, in 'reportage mode', as though making a public announcement. This is why I tried to introduce the camera early on in the relationship, so that people would get used to the size and shape of the camera, as well as the fact of its constant recording. Progressively, and as the relationship continued, more often than not, people relaxed and practically seemed to forget about the camera being there. It is not possible to completely forget its presence, but at least this way its influence was minimised.

My style of shooting was more influenced by practical reasons than by formal or aesthetic considerations. It was important to use equipment that, without much operation, would be able to produce relatively good images and clear sound[13]. I did not want the operational aspects of the camera to get in the way of creating and maintaining relationships, therefore, I opted for wide shots, on tripod when possible, that did not need much re-arranging during interviews or the recording of events that were public. This allowed me to concentrate on the questions and the rapport (i.e. not hiding my face behind the camera) rather than the technical aspects.

For audio recording, internal camera mics for most cases were sufficient, but for some interviews I opted for radio mics to allow the actors to move away from the camera if they wanted to. Other times, I used a digital audio recording device.

In order to cover events when I would participate, I asked an experienced filmmaker colleague to help me along and my husband to take the photographs. Mónica Rubio and Yuvel Soria added their own personal subjectivity. During the busiest periods, I gave them instructions at the start of the day of what public events needed to be covered and how to reach them. With so much going on during the parade –i.e. the behaviour of the audience, the mishaps around the show, the parade dancing, the tradespeople, etc. – it was their decision on what to focus on and what to

[13] I used equipment which was still in use for broadcast production in 2008: a Canon XL1 DV camera, a Senheisser zoom microphone, and when needed a medium-sized tripod. Also, this is the only equipment I own.

leave out. I trusted their way of working, knowing that in the multidimensional character of the festivity, that all of it would be valid and useful.

The same goes for the photographic shots, which were mostly taken by my husband, and less so by myself. He accompanied me to most of the fieldwork activities, as well as discussed with me the issues that were coming along in relation to the research, therefore I trusted his work as that of an informed helper. As a result of his support and contribution, I have records of most things both on video and photographic stills.

The use of photography and video as illustrations of academic research are now widespread. In this case, my aim was to give the reader a sample of the sounds and images of the events, so as to widen the possibility of 'experience' (acknowledging its limitations) rather than mere 'imagining' of the phenomena under study.

2.5.5 Archival Research

Finally, I visited a variety of archival institutions: Biblioteca de la Universidad Mayor San Simon in Cochabamba, Museo de Etnografía y Folklore in La Paz, The Archivo de Oruro and the Bilblioteca Municipal de Oruro where I scanned for local press (contemporary –2000s – and from the 1940s and 1950s, a decade of major historical changes in the life of the Carnival). I also collected primary sources in the form of promotional literature and institutional literature produced by the authorities and the conjuntos.

Having discussed the methodological approach and methods employed in the development of the research, I shall now offer an account of the analytical process that the data underwent.

2.6 Analysis

The process of analysis started before my departure to the field, processing the literature, my own expectations and memories, and some initial questions, all of which were directing the course of the analysis even before setting foot in the field. It was quite a personal journey, as explained in the section on my own positionality.

The research was largely prompted by personal interests and concerns, and the analysis was also led in this way. For instance, after so many years away, I was amazed

by the rising levels of racism and prejudice in Bolivia against indigenous people, a phenomenon that was recently reported by the UN (La Razón 12-03-11), which indicates that despite the recent political changes, the situation has little improved. In order to monitor this, I became more involved in the political process as it was reaching a climax in 2008, during the third year of Evo Morales's political leadership. I almost lost all interest in the performative and the folkloric, as I was more interested in looking at how inequality is left to operate at all levels, in many hidden forms. I started to document political events through photographs and video and to give images to the people I took photographs of so that they would have a record.

Whilst documenting this process with my photographic and video camera I met some of the key figures involved in the social movements in the region around Oruro where Evo Morales comes from. To be expected, many of the links I established in trade unions were related to popular forms of expression, not least because of the timing of things: during *jallupacha* (rainy season) Carnival celebrations. Thus I started to look at the celebrations I had come to study with different eyes as politics became more prominent: ideas of (self)representation, what people end up being loyal to and what they despise (culturally), and what they consider equal (politically).

After many months of fieldwork, taking in the multidimensions of the festive, I found a thread of analysis in one of the last interviews of the field. Ivan Z., Aymara thinker and organiser of the Anata rural parade described the moment when, fifteen years earlier, he had realised that the linguistic and cultural practices of Aymara rural communities in Oruro translated into a particular cultural identity (see also the work of Canessa 2000, Sanjinés 2002 for this discussion). Hearing his description about the time of a turn in his own subjectivity gave my research into popular performative practices a whole new dimension.

The next day, I had another revealing interview, this time with a senior member of the Church at the Sanctuary of the Virgin of the Mineshaft, when he admitted that the main concern of the Church for supporting the Carnival calendar of activities was to find opportunities to disseminate Christianity through his particular interpretation of 'inculturation' (Fray Mauro, in interview).

As a result of processing these conversations, I started to formulate the following hypothesis:

An exploration of the transformation of the Oruro Carnival, from marginal practice to symbol of the nation in the twentieth century may be examined to illustrate the relationship between national configurations of power and participation in popular culture in the Andes.

From this blurry point of departure with ideas of identity, popular culture and representation politics at its core, I started to categorise the data collected: sixty hours of video footage, around eight hours of audio, approximately five thousand photos, hundreds of newspaper cuttings dating from a period contemporary with my stay in Oruro as well as dozens of press cuttings from the 1940s and 1950s. I also had my fieldwork diary filled with notes.

One of the main challenges for the analysis was to review and categorise such vast amounts of empirical data. It took me around six months to review the video and images, hear and transcribe the interviews and organise the material under headings informed by my observations in the field and the literature review. Eventually, my own original ideas started to emerge.

I grouped the data into eight categories, each with their own subcategories:

- Faith (re: the sacred, deities, worldviews and principles, liminality, coping with suffering, wellbeing, facilitators of faith, reciprocity)
- Heritage (re: ideas of collective legacy and memory; epistemological, transmissive and performative traditions; the national; the past; management; (in)tangibility; ownership/belonging)
- Production (re: economic/agricultural productive processes; production of material culture; of social positioning; production rituals; authorship; identity-making processes; poverty)
- Ethnicity/Hybridity/Indigeneity (re: ethnic markers; fiesta rites; race and mestizaje; rural/urbano; gender relations; aesthetics; trade; nation-making and ethnicity; hybridity)
- Performance (re: spectacle; the performative as doing; mediatory performance; rituals and ceremonies; the gaze)
- The Body (re: age, ethnicity and gender; visibility; embodiment; the senses; self-esteem; beauty)
- Parade Dancing (re: Carnival dances; dance as transmission; investment; social dynamics; standardisation aesthetics)

And a separate column titled Methodology, with the reflections of the methods employed and my own positionality, recorded during the fieldwork.

At once, these categories created their own dynamics and internal and external links, helping the analysis to approach an interpretation highlighting the dynamics of religion and heritage over identity discourses in Bolivia.

In the end, from my path of analysis emerged links between the ideas of politics of representation (as put forward by Taylor 1992) and the emergence of discourses of national cultural heritage, as discussed by Guss (2000), Hall (1996, 1997b, 2008) and Appadurai (2008). Firstly, I linked ideas about the discursive nature of cultural heritage to existing discussions of cultural performance in the Andes, as developed by Mendoza (2000), Femenías (2005), Canepa (1998), Romero (2001), Condarco (2007), Lara Barrientos (2007), and Albó and Preiswerk (1986). These discussions led me to examine the role of the festive in creating points of attachment (identification) between civilising discourses and the self (Hall 1996: 5). I compared official interpretations of the festivity (from the works of Revollo 2003, Murillo Vacarreza and Revollo Fernández 1999, and interviews with authorities in Oruro) against the many testimonies that linked subjectivity and exclusion that emerged from the empirical data. This led me to focus on discussions around race and indigeneity in the Andes (de la Cadena 2000, 2007; Soruco 2006), which developed into a discussion of coloniality (Dussel 1992, 2005), and onto the political responses to coloniality through festive performance in the Oruro Carnival.

To finish this section, there is one last consideration before engaging in the empirical and theoretical discussion of the ideas above proposed: A reflection on the ethical issues that were at stake during the research, and the limitations of the study.

2.7 Ethical considerations

The main issue at stake in ethical terms for researchers is whether and how what we are doing in the field and in the writing is going to affect the lives of the research actors.

My main concerns were getting data whilst respecting the humanity and dignity of the actors, establishing a rapport and trust that would not be violated, securing future

access and ensuring that their views are fully understood before I attempted to represent them on paper (for posterity).

I shall attempt to illustrate this issue with an experience. I was recently involved in an academic discussion about the impact of research in the field. At one point, a UK scholar working in a foreign country said she often found that too much was made of academic interventions on foreign field (as part of fieldwork). I will attempt to paraphrase what she said as closely as possible from memory. She said that the scenarios typically depicted seemed to suggest that we scholars used and victimised people for the sake of obtaining information for our research projects, when in reality researchers tended to be well received, and it might even be possible that the informants 'had nothing better to do' [those were her words] than to attend an interview with a researcher. I oppose this view strongly, whilst I realise that many collaborators are fully aware of the aims of the project when they offer their views and experiences to it, I also acknowledge that entering someone's life with a research project is an intrusion because of the unequal power relations between the researcher and research subject. This type of encounter cannot be discussed in terms of giving an interview because one has "nothing better to do".

In Oruro, I experienced the other side, when one of my interviewees curious about my own religious beliefs and possibly suspicious of my line of questioning regarding the role of the Cofradía in the conjunto, asked me to sit on the other side of the camera whilst she asked me what I thought about Virgin Mary. In all my years as a documentary filmmaker, I had never been asked to sit and be interviewed in front of the camera as an interviewee, as this lady was asking me to do. Needless to say, it was quite a challenge. I knew there were things she was looking to hear. Casually saying that I didn't believe in Mary possibly wouldn't have helped my relationship with her or the conjunto she belonged to (a key institution in the research), but on the other hand she wanted to hear evidence that my beliefs in Mary were strong, not just implied to get out of the situation – she wanted me to be honest. On the other hand, in respect of the honesty that was demanded of me, I wanted to offer my critical view of the Church somehow without offending her and I also wanted to let her know that I loved and respected Mary as the mother figure we are taught to venerate. These were all the emotions and thoughts I was having: a mix of wanting to come across still as

likeable, but not as a liar, and respectful of other viewpoints, all mixed with the nerves of wanting to avoid saying the wrong thing and the awareness that my words and actions were being scrutinised for hidden meaning. Much of the tension was increased by the presence of the camera and the knowledge that even if we forgot what was said there and then, the record (unless accidentally deleted, of course!) would still remain. It is hard to be asked questions, to be faced with your contradictions, for your thoughts to be recorded on camera or on paper, whilst someone else is trying to 'catch' something from what you say. We, as researchers are not always 'understanding' or 'sympathetic' to what it means to share yourself with a complete stranger, and that what comes out is not necessarily how you would best put it, but will nevertheless be more or less final.

Therefore, asking people to share their views with the researcher for research is not the same as engaging in an equal exchange at a party or another social situation. As Clifford reminds us, power and history work through ethnographic texts 'in ways their authors cannot fully control', just as (visual) ethnography works as cultural fictions based on 'systematic, and contestable, exclusions' (Clifford 1986: 6-7). It is thus established that ethnographic truths are partial, both committed to a position and fragmentary.

One of the strategies I used to be more inclusive in the 'editing process' given by the 'systematic, and contestable, exclusions', was to describe the research in as much detail as possible when requesting to be granted an interview, at whatever stage it was at, aiming for informed consent.

I also tried to make questions that included some analysis, so rather than asking a straight question that demands isolated information ('is looking after our heritage important?'), I tried to contextualise the question in terms of my own research, to give them an idea of what areas I was touching upon ('given the discussion that heritage is something we all share and connects us to the past, should we pay more attention to how heritage is managed and by whom?'). The aim was to let them reason their answer in dialogue with the ideas that were leading the research, which would eventually frame their answers in the dissertation – so at least they had a chance to give an informed answer, and not act in naivety or merely give the answers they thought I wanted to hear.

Another important ethical consideration already discussed in the Positionality section that is worth recalling here is the issue of working with vulnerable groups. This incurs adopting a critical stand in terms of dominant research traditions, and processes of production and consumption of research. One of my main preoccupations from the start was how my work in the shape that it has taken, as an academic piece of writing, could be useful for those who contributed, in terms of improving existing conditions. The first impediment is its form; few people in Oruro will have the time to read an academic text of this length, not to mention that it would need to be translated into Spanish.

This is something I am hoping to tackle at the next level, for a post-doctoral project that will lead to the making of a documentary that will include the argument of the thesis but in a more accessible format (video). The next step will be to show it in Oruro, and use the feedback for a future publication, including the viewpoints and comments from the actors.

Another important consideration with regard to the use of the audiovisual is to ask if it was always appropriate to film when I did. For example, during some of the Anata Andina ceremonies, was the content of those ceremonies meant to become public? What about some of the confessions/polemic comments made by some of the interviewees? I have changed the names of all the contributors as a strategy to anonymise their replies in this dissertation. Another strategy employed, informed by Viveiros de Castro's 'perspectivism' (1998), is to contextualise contributors' answers as much as possible, so that the reader has more to go by before making moral judgements that as humans we all make.

On the other hand, people in Oruro often associate cameras to the work of video producers who make quick turnaround videos of the parade or any other *entrada* (parade), and sell them as souvenir DVDs to participants and visitors the day after the event. Cameras are associated with people making a livelihood out of filming festive culture. Therefore, it was important to make it clear to people that this study was not a money-making activity but academic in nature, although arguably it might lead me to get a job, which is another way of 'making money'. As we all know, there are issues of power relations when using the camera, and making money is not the only way to exploit, but it was important to make it clear to people that I was not going to sell

anything out of what was being filmed, and instead its 'consumption' would take place in universities and other cultural environments.

Lastly, let us consider the limitations of the research in the next section, to reflect on the shortcomings in the field and the analysis, for the benefit of research in the field in the future.

2.8 Limitations of Research

Let us start by stating that the main methodological approach employed, namely Grounded Theory, is not without its flaws.

Charmaz affirms that one of the potential problems with ethnographic research is 'seeing data everywhere, gathering everything and nothing' (2006: 23). However, Grounded Theory has the advantage of helping you establish internal dialogues between the data collected, avoiding 'thin, unfocused data that may tempt ethnographers to fall back on lifting stock concepts from their disciplinary shelves' (Charmaz 2006: 23). However, I am not sure if, as Charmaz (2006: 23) affirms, the idea of selecting a scene and directing my ethnographic gaze within it made the research easier to control and to structure. In my case, things took a long time to digest. I was not really using a systematic approach but one based on intuition, though I was still following one of Grounded Theory's strategies, that is allowing research leads to take me to other leads and situation levels, whilst letting the camera roll. These resulted in around sixty hours of footage, and hundreds and hundreds of pages of transcriptions, which took me months to digest. However, although quite time-consuming, in adopting this methodology, I was able to approach the subject in a much more open-minded manner, allowing for more theoretical interpretation and analysis to emerge from the field itself.

Another important issue to consider is the idea of collaborative ethnography. Given the time and budgetary constraints, it was not possible to engage in collaborative ethnography, given that the bulk of the analysis is done in the writing up stages and not during the actual fieldwork. Ideally, the researcher would have been able to pay a visit and report on the findings to the key actors, to get their perspective on the progress and direction of the work so far, and feed this data back into the research, but given the high financial investment needed for the air ticket and

associated expenses this was not possible. Research funding at PhD level does not usually contemplate several fieldwork visits, and this is a necessary step for the research that will have to be carried out after submission and for subsequent research projects on the topic.

This is not an exhaustive examination of the limitations of the research. For example, I have not mentioned the fact that not speaking Quechua or Aymara was at times at real disadvantage, particularly in rural or semi-rural settings where people sometimes feel much more comfortable not speaking in Spanish and many ideas are lost in translation. This serves as an indication to the reader that the researcher is aware that, as a work in progress, there is room for improvement both in the analysis and in the systems put in place for data collection, and for research outreach.

To end, I have attempted in this section to be reflective about the research practices employed for collection of empirical data whilst doing ethnographic work in Oruro, looking at the realm of the festive in relation to people's ideas of the past and the construction of subjectivities.

The most important methodological approaches were A) Grounded Theory (Charmaz 2006), whereby the paradigm of identity is sought from people themselves, and their point of view becomes theory, establishing sources of interrelations and leading to the emergence of new theoretical frameworks (as proposed by De Munter 2007). B) Participant Experience (Potter 2008), a term used to describe the active inclusion of the researcher in the events of the field rather than acting as passive observer (participant observation). C) a focus on embodied practices as a medium for information transfer and storage, such as the work of Taylor (2003) on the Latin American repertoire of embodied practices, and, D) the use of audio-visual methods both to collect and analyse data, as well as to present findings in the form of an audiovisual component to accompany the written dissertation. The approaches prompted methods that emerged from the methodological considerations and in relation to the ethical demands of the field. These led to a particular line of analysis: using the relationship between experience and identity as departure point, and aided by the data emerging in the field through Grounded Theory, the line of enquiry focused on processes that engage the construction of subjectivities and people's

identification with particular versions of the past, through festive practices, discourses and institutions.

I have explained the three main methods employed in data collection: writing notes in a fieldwork diary in my role as dancer-researcher, recording video and audio onto a video camera (or a digital audio recorder) from events or interviews, and establishing a critical dialogue with the literature, including primary and secondary sources.

The theoretical framework that prompted the methodological considerations emerged from a very personal encounter with the relevant literature, and the empirical data, guided all along by a decolonising methodological approach led by own positionality as a UK-based researcher, and as Bolivian actor abroad and engaged in the production of knowledge. In this case, the role of insider-outsider researcher in relation to the vulnerability of the contributors in situations of social injustice (Tuhiwai Smith 1999) such as the case of poorer Orureños who engage in festive culture, requires much more consideration than the discussion on where the researcher stands with regard to the dominant research environment (Agar 1996). I also have reflected on the fact that as a stakeholder, my role ought to be pre-determined by my position in the community (Narayan 1993, Romero 2001), rather than by the responsibility of making an anonymous contribution to universal knowledge.

3. Carnival: Geographical, Historical and Epistemological Frameworks

The aim of this chapter is to contextualise the study of Carnival in place, time, and as a concept that was imported from Europe during the colony and has developed its own framework of meanings in the setting of Oruro.

I shall give an initial account of the events in Oruro, and look at the variants that frame the festivity, on the basis that carnival in Oruro is a product of its urban location, the history of the region, and the place it occupies in the Christian calendar, and as part of a network of events of Andean religiosity and popular culture. The analysis of each one of these dimensions will help to frame the festivity's power to mediate socio-cultural processes on a wider scale.

I believe, building on from Martín-Barbero's accepted wisdom (2003), that popular culture can be analysed as a space of socio-cultural mediation, and I shall demonstrate that the symbolic capital of the event (which opens it for interpretation) lies in the richness of meanings that the festivity can mediate. This sets the ground for our main premise: that the processes generated in. Carnival can help in the reconfiguration of power structures at a wider level.

3.1 Carnival in Oruro: the Events

The following description of Carnival in Oruro is the result of my fieldwork between 2007 and 2008. For a video sample of the parade, see the DVD attached (Appendix E).

Carnival Saturday is the big day, which people have been preparing for months and years. It is first the day of the parade. That Saturday morning in February 2008 most roads, shops, windows and fronts of houses were filled with noise and people, as public life took over the private sphere, with the buzz of the street spilling into houses and windows, and everyday spatial boundaries lifted for the weekend. Music penetrated every corner of the city, particularly near my home, which also marked the area for the gathering of dancers as it was very near the starting point on Calle Aroma (see the map of the route on Appendix D). From inside our flat, we could hear people talking and making noise outside: doors banging, people shouting from windows, and the urban percussion of market stalls (spoons on plates, coins passing hands, laughter and chit-chat). Throughout the day, there were masses of dancers all getting ready to join their dance troupe, some were half dressed in their costume, others were applying the last touches to their costumes or head-gear, or adding the last touches to the *cargamentos*, the specially decorated vehicles in charge of carrying the Virgin's statue and preceding each troupe.

I observed how as Carnival Saturday neared, the urban space had started to become increasingly overcrowded, with most homes accommodating more people than they have beds for, and people sleeping in tents in public squares, consuming food and drink, partying and making noise. People from all walks of life suddenly invaded Oruro; Carnival dancers walking around in cross-dressing and exuberant costumes, tourists with their foreign features and clothes occupying any available public space—the shops, the markets—taking pictures of it all, joining in the stuff that was familiar to them, such as the dancing, the drinking and the water games. The city became invaded by smells, of food, alcohol and eventually, urine everywhere. The stray dogs that usually take to the roads of Oruro at night for their own territorial gang

wars were scampering amidst human legs – one in particular, familiarly known as *Can Petardo*[14], took to running after the exploding fireworks and parade dancers.

Touristic and cultural brochures describe the two-day parade as a Catholic pilgrimage to the Virgin on Saturday, and a Carnival Parade on Sunday. The route is completed by all dance troupes on both days, using the same participants, but with slight changes to the running order and the musical rhythms performed each day. The emphasis on the religious and more formal character of Saturday's performance is evident as the Church representatives oversee the parade and authorities try to regulate the behaviour of the dancing crowds. Sunday has a more relaxed atmosphere, as the dancing is faster, drinking is allowed during the parade and authorities loosen up. I will interpret all these issues in Chapter 5, where I give a fuller ethnographic account of the festivity.

The dancing is performed by forty-eight dance troupes with around fifty to over a thousand members each, all organised to perform a particular dance with coordinated costumes. The dances are associated with cultures or practices that have populated the Oruro imaginary about Bolivians as a whole representing their African, Spanish and Andean descent. For instance there is the 'Negritos' dance, which represents the plight of the African slaves who came to work in the silver mines in Oruro and Potosí, who dance to the tune of a Caporal ('overseer') with a whip. There is the Tobas dance, showing the 'fierce' indigenous 'warriors' from the lowlands, although the perspective is both urban and Andean, as the aesthetics of the Tobas are mixed with popular images of North American Indians wearing feather crowns on their heads and performing jumps and rather menacing movements. The Tinku dance represents the ritual fighters of festive occasions in rural Northern Potosí, and dancers' choreographies are based on fighting-like movements and kicks. The most important or representative dance of the parade is the Diablada, or 'devil dance', which will be explored in more detail in a coming section. These brief examples serve to illustrate the images and imaginaries represented through the folkloric dances during the parade.

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[14] A great little piece of research is due about *Can Petardo*'s ongoing participation in Carnival rites. He's an old stray dog, always near the action, barking at the fireworks and running among the parade dancers.

The parade may be the focal point of the event, but along the route of the parade and beyond, the festive takes over the streets, public and private spaces of the city, to accommodate the thousands of visitors who come either to participate or to watch. Nowadays, the parade attracts attention from the whole world because of UNESCO's promotion since 2001 as a 'Masterpiece of Intangible World Heritage' (UNESCO website). Visitors come either as tourists, as relatives or friends of someone based in Oruro or as participants. In some of the *conjuntos* there were dancers from Europe, Asia and North America. All of the businesses and services seem to cater for the visitors and the needs of the participants of the event, as everyday items like bread disappear but it is possible to find whistles, beer and water balloons on almost every corner.

As I took part in the preparations and the big day, I witnessed how both public and private spaces seemed to merge, as loud brass music played in the streets for over forty-eight hours, getting everyone involved (willingly or not)[15]. Those not performing were watching the event, those not watching were selling food, plastic ponchos or accessories for the dancers, although at points the same person may be involved in all three at once. Stimulation was everywhere, as colourfulness, dancing, music, food aromas and water games disrupted the usually quiet atmosphere of Oruro.

[15] 'Everyone' is a large generalisation, which I am using only to convey the large scope of the event, and in that it seems that it becomes impossible to escape Carnival during the days of the parade. However, there are some unwilling participants. I had neighbours who were Protestants, and found the whole event offensive. One of them explained that they were offended by the fact that people were engaging in idolatry, 'dancing for an image'. They spent all four key days (Friday to Monday), locked in their home, windows closed, waiting for it all to be over.

Figure 3. Street Rehearsal (*convite*), GTADO

This carnivalesque 'disruption' did not just comprise those last weeks before and first few days after the event, for Carnival took months to prepare, and a good few weeks to wind down again (see Appendix B for details on the festive calendar). In fact, it could be argued that Carnival never quite stopped, as there were always activities related to Carnival taking place at any point in the year (**Figure 3** shows one of Oruro's busiest roads, Avenida 6 de agosto, blocked during a street rehearsal). The focus was the celebration of Carnival in the urban space of Oruro, centred around the Virgin and the Church of the Mineshaft, but on a less explicit level, there were many other rituals involved connected to pre-Christian practices performed in rural and more popular urban areas of the Andes.

Bourdieu established the relationship between practices and the social order that they project with the concept of *habitus* as 'a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions' for its actors (Bourdieu and Passeron, quoted by Martín-Barbero 2003: 109). In recognition that 'practice', in Bourdieu's sense, has the power to both reproduce an existing social order (Bourdieu 2000), and to lead actors to new areas of the imagination (Martín-Barbero 2003: xxi), one of my premises is that Carnival is a mediatory platform for a variety of discourses and practices, many of which have identity-making powers for its actors.

The significance of Carnival in the life of its actors (as we shall see in Chapter 5), and its impact in national identity-making discourses (in Chapter 4), demonstrate that Carnival has acquired a role as a self-defining phenomenon in the lives of Orureños. Therefore, if we are to study Carnival as a performative identity-making phenomenon and to analyse its full scope in the experiences and expectations of its actors, the significance of the concept of Carnival in Oruro first needs to be contextualised.

It has been said that concepts do not exist outside of contexts (Foucault 2002 [1966]). It is evident that Carnival and related practices are not ideas that can be isolated and studied alone, but must be read as part of the network of ideas, actors, and the settings that give life to Carnival. In the next sections, I shall explore the contexts and settings that frame the festivity in Oruro, from geographical, historical and epistemological perspectives.

3.2 Geographical Setting

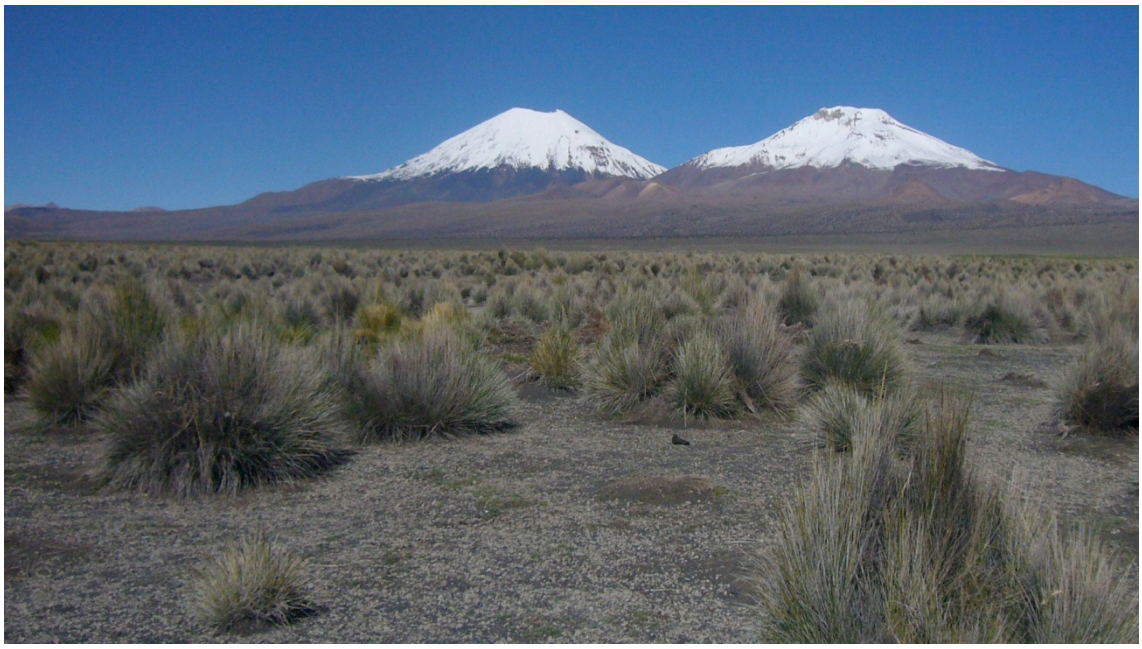

Figure 4. Payachatas Peaks, near Oruro

Oruro, the region, covers a surface of 53.588 km2, about 4.88% of the total surface of Bolivia (INE 2009b). Its arid and cold landscape contains mostly highlands and puna (the arid plateaus of the Andes), with the impressive Cordillera Occidental to the West, including Mount Sajama, Bolivia's highest mountain near the border with Chile. La Paz and Cochabamba mark its limits to the North, and Potosí to the East and South-East (Boero Rojo 1993c: 247). **Figure 4** shows the landscape near Oruro.

Oruro city is located inside the department of Oruro, at about 230 km from La Paz, on a very central trade route that links the highlands (Oruro, Potosí, La Paz) to the valleys (Cochabamba and Sucre), and then onto the lowlands (Santa Cruz) via Cochabamba, and it also links to Chile. Oruro has around 447,468 inhabitants (INE 2009b), and its territory covers around 53.588 km2 (ACFO 2000: 2).

The city of Oruro occupies the lands next to the mineral-rich mountain range that includes ten successive hills that provided silver and tin to the colonial regime (Beltrán Heredia 1993: 250): San Felipe, San Pedro, Santa Bárbara, Luricancho, Huaka Llusta, Corral Pata, Viscachani, Pie de Gallo, Cerrato, and Argentillo. Mount San Felipe and San Pedro are well known for their mineral wealth, having been the centre of local mining extraction since colonial times. Near the city, there are two lakes, Lake Uru Uru and Lake Poopó, and as Araoz points out, 'hills, mountains, rivers and lakes play a central role in local ritual life and mythological narrative' (Araoz 2003: 20). **Figure 5** shows a mining site in the North quarter.

Figure 5. San José mines to the North of Oruro

Manufacture is Oruro's most important industry, the production of wool, textiles, furniture; foundries; clay factories are according to the municipal authorities what sustains 75% of the active population (Gobierno Municipal de Oruro 2006). There are

also manufacturers of nationally recognised brands of soap, shoes, bricks and ceramic (Boero Rojo 1993c: 247). The economy of Oruro city is contingent on its prime location for trading as another significant source of income, both formally in acting as a trading route with Chile, and between the highlands and the coast; and informally through the crates of *contrabando* (smuggled goods) that arrive daily and fill the many *ferias* (weekly street markets) dotted around the city. There are projects to make it a 'dry port', which will link the Atlantic and the Pacific coast by land in the near future (Gobierno Municipal de Oruro 2006).

Oruro city also used to be at the centre of the rail network linking Bolivia to Argentina and Chile until the government of Sanchez de Lozada brought the network down in 1995, selling all its assets to Chile[16]. It is still well communicated thanks to the busiest road of the country linking north to south, and connecting with the Argentinean and Chilean borders by rail.

Mining (silver and tin) and agriculture (quinoa and other cereals; and tubers) are also important regional industries, as well as tourism, attracting people from around the country and abroad to its famous Carnival and nearby nature sites: salt lakes Poopó and Uyuni[17].

3.2.1 The urban space

The Carnival's urban location has wide socio-cultural significance, for an analysis of its urban backdrop can also be informative of particular contexts that are relevant to the past and present of Oruro as a whole.

I found that the buzz of Oruro city is in the streets of the many *ferias* ('trade fairs') and markets, as any one person at any one time is never far away from a big *feria*. Trade in Oruro attracts people from all over the country. The *flotas* (long-distance coach services) arrive full of people in the early hours of the morning with traders from all over the region, as traders arrive to buy their goods cheaply from them, and depart filled to the brim with goods by mid- afternoon. There are three large permanent

[16] There are still very few connections possible to Argentina and Chile by rail.

[17] The Uyuni Salt Lake is part of the Potosí departamento, but one of the most accessible routes crosses Oruro, allowing for the upkeep of a small but important tourism industry in the region.

markets, and weekly fairs where many of the meat traders of Gran Tradicional Auténtica Diablada Oruro (GTADO) have stalls. These markets overspill onto the streets with traders and their products, from food to brand new imported and second-hand domestic appliances, pirated CDs, coca leaves and Carnival costumes.

Oruro has a definite urban feel to it, as it was, along with Potosí, the first modern city of Bolivia during the height of mining in the XVII century; but the countryside does not feel far away either. Men in suits and men in ponchos share the pavements and the *minibuses* (Oruro's main form of public transport). Women dressed in *polleras* (the skirt worn by some urban women of indigenous descent) and in 'European-style' dress both act as sellers and customers in the markets and shops, and women in *aksu* (traditionally woven indigenous dress worn rurally) are also seen about, carrying their children or goods in *awayos* (traditional back carriers). It is obviously more urban than rural, but the presence of nearby rural communities is significant and noticeable. Many of the provinces around Oruro city are rural, and many of them such as Carangas, Pantaleón Dalence, Sajama, and San Pedro de Totora, still operate under Andean forms of organisation.[18]

Out of the total of the population in 2001, 38,9% lived in moderate poverty, and 27,3% in extreme poverty (*indigencia*), which is 6% more than the national average, most of them in the rural area (INE 2009a: 20).

The city has a North-South divide, as most of the main squares, churches, administrative buildings, main shopping area and older residential constructions are in the North. The 'well-to-do' live away from the commercial centre, either in the central North district or slightly up on the hills of the city centre, near Calle Murguía and Camacho (see Appendix D for a map of Oruro).

Important sites in the South are the mines of Cerro San Felipe, the zoo, a large university campus, and an anthropological museum with an important collection dedicated to Carnival. Many of the buildings there are new and plush-looking, which is

[18] The central structure for organisation in rural communities are *ayllus* (pre-Hispanic social and political units of community organisation). These are led by indigenous authority figures that act parallelly to those provided by the State. See the work of Platt (1982) for a more detailed discussion of the Ayllu.

attributed to the fact that mining has done well in the region for the last few years and has given rise to new constructions.

The Carnival route runs in the Northern quarter. It starts in the Ranchería, then goes around some of the main trading centres and markets, through the main square, and reaches and ends at the Church of the Mineshaft, in the North West. (For a map of the Carnival route, see Appendix D)

One of the main stages for the Carnival parade is the Ranchería neighbourhood, where it starts and where many of the craft-makers have their workshops. The Ranchería is a landmark of the city because of its historical significance. Before the insertion of the middle classes in the 1940s, Carnival parade started here, mostly made up by Ranchería neighbours and surrounded the city outskirts to reach the Mineshaft Church, where the parade entered the Church to finalise the ritual. The area was destitute until fairly recently.

During the colony, the Ranchería was the urban settlement separated for the indigenous migrants who worked in the mines that formed the *República de Indios* ('Republic of Indians'). The separation of the urban settlement into 'republics' or socio-fiscal compounds, of which there were two—the 'Republic of Spaniards, and the 'Republic of Indians'—was an attempt by the colonial authorities to manage the heterogeneity of the population. The system of 'repúblicas' assigned corporate rights and jurisdictions to individuals according to racial groupings (Larson 2004: 144), whilst separating their particular cultural characteristics, and attempting to control miscegenation between members of the two 'republics'. Thus the Ranchería, as the site of the old República de Indios, still holds a particular sense of community that is different from the rest of Oruro, and has its own cultural traits; interviewees from there will often mention that they were 'born and bred' there. Most of the workshops of costume-makers and other Carnival 'workers' are also situated there.

Beyond the role of the Ranchería as one of the main 'stages', there is the Avenida 6 de Agosto, also at the start of the route, a long and wide stretch of road with a large sitting area for viewing the parade; then, the Plaza 10 de febrero (Oruro's main square), surrounded by the Mayor's Office, the *Prefectura* Office (regional authority's office), Oruro's most exclusive hotels: the Hotel Eden and Hotel Oruro, and its only cinema, Cine Palais Concert. Here are located the most expensive and exclusive seats

to watch the parade, usually filled with tourists and VIP figures. Then there is the Avenida Cívica and the Plaza del Folklore, very near the end of the route by the Church, where the cameras and broadcasters are to be found because of the wide view of the parade, and the level of choreographic displays performed there. Here are also situated special sections for VIP seats, which normally include ministers, foreign ambassadors and other political celebrities.

Social-cultural divides are present in the geographic map traced by the Oruro Carnival, as the actors of particular spatial locations also inhabit social spaces deep-rooted in history: such as the positioning of the lower-classes of urban indigenous descent near the Ranchería, and the political elite figures near the main square and close to the Church of the Mineshaft.

There are also material implications for Orureños depending on how far they live from the parade route. The urban setting of the event brings more prosperity for those businesses near the route which cater for the visitors, than it does to people in rural communities, who remain out of the flow of tourists and their cash. This reinforces existing urban/rural divides, in that whilst in the city there is relative affluence as a result of trading, services and the rise of income through mining of recent years, poverty is still widespread in the agricultural countryside nearby– a pattern in wealth distribution which is consistent with the rest of the nation, as shown in the statistics produced by Bolivia's main body for national statistics, Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE 2009a and b). What is more, most high profile festive activities take place in the central/Northern district, around the institutions that hold the most power in the community, in the proximities of the Church of the Mineshaft (Avenida Cívica), the government buildings (Plaza 10 de febrero), and the well-off neighbours to the West of Hotel Edén. These are the VIP seating areas, where authorities sit (President Evo Morales was there the next day) and the seats are expensive (US$ 30-70 each) and out of the reach of most Orureños. The divide between performance and audience is also more rigid in these places, where the guards' presence is widest, as pointed out by Lara Barrientos (2007: 84) – although from what I observed, the rigidity tends to break down as the event progresses.

There is a heightened sense of significance near these areas, where conjuntos offer their best spectacle. Our troupe leader, Don Marco, became more assertive of

our dancing when we approached the Plaza 10 de febrero. We stopped just before the main square and he told us to shout, '*no se equivoquen*' ('don't mess up') and give our best: '*recuerden quienes son*' ('remember who you are'), he said. Everyone did try their best, and energy was notably higher in our jumps, shouts and choreographic figures than in other parts of the route. I figured that in the case of the *mañasos*, entering the square in awareness of one's own identity may also have resonances of the fact that before the 1950s 'Indians were not allowed into the main square' in most cities. Mañasos were among those first conjuntos that would have had to avoid crossing through the main square as part of their Carnival celebration pre-1950s.

On the other hand, geography acquires a sacred meaning in Oruro. Condarco has mentioned the 'religious character of my native city' (Condarco 1999:8), as it becomes evident to the visitor that the city is packed with religious signifiers dotted around its public spaces. During the festive period, its roads become pilgrimage routes and many of its spaces become places of worship. The sacred is not found just in the spaces built by humans, but also at the level of landscape – inanimate rocks embody deities and supernatural forces. The landscape in Oruro has a dimension that is both symbolic and historical, which I shall explore in the next section.

3.2.2 Sacred Landscape

Condarco (1999) has pointed out that the pre-Hispanic antecedents of the Carnival are to be found in the sacralisation of the landscape in and around Oruro. Other Oruro researchers have also found evidence that the Oruro landscape is heavily charged with religious symbolism (Lara Barrientos 2007, Araoz 2003). In my view, the link between the spatial setting of Oruro and the symbolic religiosity of the urban landscape identified by Condarco is key to understanding the significance of the phenomenon in the identity of Orureños.

There is a widespread popular view that Oruro, the place, has a religious character, as though part of its intrinsic nature (Nava 2004, Revollo 2003, Beltrán Heredia 1962, Condarco 1999). The Carnival parade, as a ritual procession, is commonly thought to be an expression of this innate religiosity of Orureños. The intensified visibility of a number of religious shrines during the festive period seems to add weight to this idea.

Inside the urban cluster of Oruro there are several *huacas* (or *wak'as*), regularly attended by believers usually on Fridays, whereas Christian Mass is massively attended on Sundays.

In Jesús Lara's Diccionario Qheshwa-Castellano Castellano-Qheshwa, 'wak'a' appears as

> God. Divinity. Deity. Something sacred. Offerings to the sun… the large mountain chains, snowed mountains, high peaks. Everything singular and supernatural'. (Lara 2001: 279, my translation)[19]

This depiction is consistent with, and may derive from, the description given by Garcilaso de la Vega (1991 [1609]) in his account of pre-Hispanic Andean religion.

In the context of contemporary Oruro, 'huacas' or 'wak'as', are the name given to the sacred shrines that people visit on particular dates in the calendar to make offerings to deities present in or represented by the landscape. These wak'as include the 'Toad' on the San Pedro hill (to the North), a rock formation shaped like a toad that is visited by Orureños across many sectors of society. **Figure 6** shows the Toad wak'a in the Northern quarter of Oruro. There is the 'Snake' in Chiripujio, a natural shrine that has the shape of the mouth of a snake, which people visit with offerings of mesas and ch'allas also on Fridays or Tuesdays. There are also the 'Ants' in the East, and the 'Condor' also in the South, as well as the 'Lizard' – all of them places of pilgrimage. For Condarco (1999), the ritual activity around these sacralised figures in the landscape shows a sense of continuity in the practices directed at pre-Hispanic deities.

[19] 'Dios. Divinidad. Deidad. Cosa sagrada. Ofrendas presentadas al sol… Las grandes cordilleras, los nevados, altos picos. Todo lo singular y sobrenatural.'

Figure 6. Toad wak'a in the North

References to these wak'as are to be found in many of the mythical narratives that have become popularised among Carnival actors that describe the origins of the event. In these accounts, many of the 'animals' that give name to the wak'as have supernatural powers and play a role in the story (I shall offer more elaboration on this issue in the next section).

These wak'as are thus significant not just to followers of Andean religious practices (those who regularly visit the wak'as and take offerings to them in exchange for their protection), but also to Carnival imaginaries in general. Orureños visit them regularly in preparation for the parade, and many of the symbols that feature in the visual culture of the event (embroidery on costumes, city ornaments, and touristic brochures) emerge from these narratives.

The main shrine during the Carnival festivities is the Temple of the Mineshaft, led by the *Siervos de María* Order, which contains the figure of the Virgin of Candlemas. Underneath the Church is an old mine, no longer in operation, but inside there is an entrance to an underground museum dedicated to mining religious practices, where a figure of the *Tío de la Mina*, or the 'uncle of the mine', is the main deity for miners. Thus, the location of the Temple of the Mineshaft is home to two important and

contrasting sacred figures: the Virgin and the Tío de la Mina, which show how juxtaposed and superimposed religious symbols are in the urban and ritual landscape of Oruro.

The image of juxtaposing and superimposing symbols is one that I would like to ask the reader to keep in mind for the rest of the dissertation, as it acts as a reminder of the many levels of meaning that the festivity embodies, and the kinds of dynamics that these operate under.

What becomes clear from looking at the spatial context of Oruro is that there are deep-rooted associations between its popular expressions of festive religiosity and the urban and religious landscape of Oruro. It is also clear that people's varied approaches to the religious and symbolic aspect of the Oruro landscape are significant, from a religiosity that finds sacredness in natural forces, to the idea of a sacred traversing of the urban space, or a deity who lives underground – they all play a role in how the actors experience the festivity. What institutions do with that symbolic capital is the substance of Chapter 4.

Having established the spatial setting for the festivity, I shall now look at the historical setting of Oruro in the Bolivian context.

3.3 Historical Context of the Region

Local historians suggest that the location of Oruro had been occupied by several civilizations previous to the Conquest (Murillo Vacarreza 1999, Condarco 1999, Revollo 2003). The last group to inhabit the area had been the urus of Paria, an ancient lacustrine group settled around the area near the lakes Titicaca, Poopó and Coipasa (Wachtel 1984).

There is also evidence that mining took place in the region previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, whose advances in the area were propelled by the search of gold and silver (Wachtel 1984, Pauwels 2006).

Like Carnival, mining is at the core of the city's identity, and has shaped many of the practices that make up the body of 'Carnival traditions' that most conjuntos follow. Mining was first carried out informally by some of the earlier settlers that came from Paria – the first Spanish settlement in Bolivia – to the area now occupied by Oruro city. By 1594, the brothers Francisco (a Presbyterian priest) and Diego Medrano re-

discovered the silver mines in the hills that surround Oruro, which had been also previously exploited by one of the first Spaniards in the region, Diego Aldana some fifty years earlier. At first, they secretly exploited the mines, and then officially (for the Crown) along with other Spaniards attracted to the region. The first name of the settlement was San Miguel de Uru-Uru. When the authorities were alerted to the unimaginable riches of the mountains, they rushed to proclaim the foundation of the Real Villa de San Felipe de Austria in 1606 (Blanco 1904, appendix 1: 3).

On the realisation that San Miguel mines could give far more than Potosí's, more *mitayos* were ordered and secured from nearby Potosí (Gobierno Municipal de Oruro 2007: 12 - 14). *Mitayos* were indigenous workers under the *mita* system, which borrowed from existing Inca practices to designate 'turns' or shifts for working in the many activities that the expansion of the Inca state required (Harris 1995), but adapted to sponsor mining under Spanish authorities with very disadvantageous conditions for indigenous workers (Klein 2003: 39).

Harris points out that economic activities were designated according to ethnic labels 'grounded in racial classifications' (Harris 1995: 353). The fiscal categorisation of 'Indian' defined their tribute duties to the colonial state, which was an important source of income to the Spanish crown. Even after the system was officially abolished, there were certain labour duties still carried out by Indians, in the same way that the (lower) proletariat has to perform certain jobs not seen fit for the moneyed classes (Harris 1995: 361).

By the second half of the seventeenth century, disease, repressive abuse, war and migration had significantly weakened the indigenous population (Wachtel 1984: 213). Many of the existing Inca economic, political, cultural and religious institutions were brought down, and only elements of it were used to prop up the colonial regime. Now out of the context of the civilisation that had given them life – they had become incoherent. The Inca mita, which had ensured that all citizens were rewarded for their labour and granted access to food and the means of survival, had become a one-way system that exploited indigenous groups. The Spanish regime benefited from this, bringing a surge in growth and production.

Oruro's rapid growth as a result of the prosperity of the mines prompted its urban expansion with new buildings and institutions, hospitals, churches and convents

constantly being raised. By 1680, Oruro had a population of eighty thousand (de Mesa and Gisbert 2001: 178-9), including thousands of indigenous people employed in the mines, and others serving the needs of the mine, selling food items, and offering their services to mine owners and their employees. It is significant that the first Carnival conjuntos, at the start of the 20th century, were grouped on the basis of those trades that delivered goods to the mines during the colony, as meat, candle and coca leaf traders all formed Carnival conjuntos.[20]

Due to the higher wages in mining, there was a development of a thriving urban indigenous (or *cholo*) population in Oruro (Klein 2003: 54), as Oruro started to fill up with Indians coming in from different corners. Inside the mines, the Aymara Indians were the majority in Oruro (Klein 2003: 55). They had to give up their native tongue and native dress to adapt to their hispanicised surroundings, adopting Spanish manners and consuming European foods. As Klein says, these Indians 'became urban cholos, even though they were of pure Indian stock' (Klein 2003: 55).

Indians and Spanish had previously been grouped separately as the dual republic system also meant that each group occupied a different quarter of the city. Miscegenation (biological *mestizaje*) and processes of acculturation meant that these categories had stopped working at a biological level, and became social 'castes' determined by external markers such as dress, speech and 'manners' (Klein 2003: 50). As the scientific ambiguities of 'race' became apparent, racial identity started to be measured by the level of culture and practices, rather than genes or phenotype (Weistmantel 2001). Thus the distinction of the population on the basis of a new appreciation of 'race' continued to find ways to dominate indigenous populations.

Indigenous forms of resistance were diverse and constant throughout. The emergence of hybrid cultural forms are proof that the strategies to eradicate indigenous cultural practices that appeared to threaten Spanish domination proved limited (I shall illustrate this aspect in the next section), and the attempts to fix the population into a pre-established hierarchical order often failed. Indigenous peoples

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[20] The meat traders grouped to dance the Diablada, the candle makers created the Inca troupe, the sellers of coca leaves, indispensible for the long shifts underground, formed the first Morenada troupe, and the men who carried the goods in and out of the mine on their backs or *carguerítos* made up the first Toba troupe (Dario A., in personal communication).

presented resistance to every attempt to be further dominated, and by the second half of the eighteenth century the resentment mounted up to a great insurrection. The great Túpac Amaru rebellion of 1780-2 in nearby Cuzco inspired the organised uprisings in the Alto Perú, led by Tomás and Túpac Katari. Tomás Katari and Túpac Amaru, both of Inca royalty, were executed early on in 1781, but Túpac Katari led a siege of La Paz that lasted from March to November in 1781. These deaths did not stop the revolt in La Paz, which then spread to Oruro. The revolt eventually lost as the leaders were captured and brutally executed in November 1781, but whilst in control it was a powerful force that commanded up to forty thousand Indians (Klein 2003: 75). During the battles coordinated by the Aymara and Quechua caciques of the region, says Klein, half the urban population of La Paz lost their lives (2003: 76). This period marked the end of many older structures that survived from Inca times, as the leadership of Indian lords (set up in the system of *cacicazgo*) was definitely transferred to Spanish hands after these events. Eventually, the battles for independence were led by Creoles rather than Indian leaders, their nature was profoundly different in terms of the political projects they embodied. The Túpac Amaru and Túpac Katari rebellions were the last of great indigenous revolts during the colony. The relevance of this period also surfaces in the oral narratives related to Carnival as we shall see in the next section.

After the Creole-led wars of independence, there was a push to enter a period of inter-ethnic rebuilding, which attempted to give indigenous peoples the same rights as the rest. This was a short-lived attempt, as it became obvious to the republican leaders that the new nations would not survive financially without Indian tribute (Klein 2003). By the mid-nineteenth century, there had been a move, Larson says 'from ambivalent republics into aggressive, oligarchic states – vanguard of capitalism and modernity' (Larson 1999: 559). The Creole elites were pushing pro-free trade agendas and encouraging foreign investment to develop their independent domestic markets.

During the mid to end of the nineteenth century, modernity started to reach the highlands but not its indigenous population. Steam-machines and trains emerged next to the isolated llama herding communities who still used the ancient trails to transport their produce on the backs of llamas to reach markets or far away communities for exchange of produce.

Oruro city was one of the most modern urban settlements as a result of economic liberalism and 'export driven modernisation'. This period was characterised by the development of national infrastructure and domestic markets, and a focus on Indian labour and Indian land. The removal of protective barriers as the recognition of indigenous collective ownership of land (a colonial legacy) was also abolished (Larson 1999: 559). This change of status also meant the removal of certain privileges as a communal body of 'Indian subject-citizens'. Indian tribute, although re-established after the initial suspension that came with independence, had become a minor source of national revenue, and was finally abolished in Bolivia in 1874 (Larson 1999: 560).

The development of capitalist expansionism meant that Indian land had become more scarce and valuable. Larson states that in the case of nomadic or tribal culture, violence was applied for the redrawing of new territorial, economic and cultural borders (1999: 562), but in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, where indigenous population was majority, these options were not viable ones.

The state was never powerful in the Andes, unlike the *Porfiriato* in Mexico, interim strife and civil wars were common and there was a popular idea that sovereignty was unachievable in that there were as many dangers inside the nation as there were outside (Larson 1999: 563). This issue came to be perceived as the 'Indian problem' in the aftermath of the independence - the inability of Bolivia to embark on a steady journey towards progress because of the failure of the state to 'civilise' its Indians.

New methods to legitimise territory seizure were produced based on concerns about the identity of the 'imagined community'. Creole nationhood required a new imaginary to claim its own idea of civilisation and identity as hegemonic, to counteract the Indian majority and their claims to land and ancestry.

During the Latin American nation-making processes of the 19th century, idea of the national was borrowed from incipient European nations post-Enlightenment, with specific mono-linguistic and mono-ethnic characteristics (Thurner 1997).

In the case of Bolivia, the official language would be Spanish and not Quechua or Aymara, the country's name would take after a Creole patriot and not an Inca prominent figure, and the national narratives would favour Spanish values and laws instead of indigenous symbols.

At the same the new elite were running a dual system inherited from colonial rule, whereby two parallel nations were run at once in terms of the internal organisation of space and society: one for the Indians and one for the Spanish (and now the Creoles) (Thurner 1997: 5). This translated into countries that had an official juridical façade of nationhood (produced and reproduced by the Creoles), and an internal semi-isolated and self-contained space where Indians lived by their own rule which would initially only be trespassed for relations of work, access to resources and taxation, with the Indians at the giving end and Creoles at the receiving end. Initially, decolonisation was seen as allowing for gradual abolition of this separation and the integration of Indians into the 'civilised world' but for pragmatic reasons it did not come to happen.

We observe that throughout the colonial and the republican period, one of the main concerns of the governing groups is how to deal with indigenous people, how to organize them, what rights and duties to assign them, and how to prevent them from regaining political power or to being an obstacle in the exploitation of natural resources by the governing elites. Bolivian national identity discourses depicted the 'Indian race' as the 'Other', the dark and impoverished antithesis of the Creole national imaginary, which was white, Spanish-speaking, Catholic and aiming to achieve European standards. These racial imaginaries accompanied the new elite's policies of brutal discrimination and land confiscation towards the nation's indigenous subjects, helping keep vast sectors of the population in a condition of unremitting underdevelopment. This remained the case with the arrival of the twentieth century. I shall look at historical strategies deployed to emerge from this position in Chapter 6.

For Zavaleta Mercado, the combination of colonial structures that persisted at the end of the nineteenth century combined with the push to gain control by several factions among the Creole elite, brought about the crisis that climaxed with the loss of territory to Paraguay in the 1932-36 Chaco War (Zavaleta Mercado 1986: 167). In the previous fifty years the nation had lost its last of the Pacific coast to Chile in the Pacific War in 1879 (Klein 2003), and territory to Brazil. There had been a redistribution of territory in the Federal War of 1898, and the Acre War of 1899-1902 (Mesa Gisbert 2001:523). The project that had driven the elites up to that point had been, in the words of Mesa Gisbert (2001: 515) was:

> '[The creation of] a Western, modern country integrated into the world's economy, and sustained on the political and economic values of liberal orthodoxy' (my translation).

A coherent enough project, although unachievable in the conditions of the time, in the view of historian and future Bolivian president Carlos Mesa Gisbert (2001:515). In practical terms at the dawn of the 20th century, the country was more divided and isolated than ever, supporting its impoverished economy on the exports of mining and, internally, on the system of *latifundia*.

The Chaco War, in which Bolivia lost a large portion of territory as well as very significant human and financial losses (Mesa Gisbert 2001: 582, Klein 2003: 182) shook existing structures to the core. Most importantly, the validity and efficiency of the state institutions had been put into question, as it had become clear that the disastrous defeat had come as a result of blatant elite corruption, and a persistent 'dual republic' mentality which proved exploitative and wasteful of human resources (Klein 2003: 183). For those who survived, who went onto form the 'Chaco generation', disillusionment followed and was first manifest in the social novel of the 1930s, which spoke of the exploitation of miners and Indians at the hands of corrupt whites (Klein 2003: 184). This marked the start of a new attitude towards the country's vast indigenous population.

The Nationalist Revolution of 1952 was one of the main political outcomes of this period. Originally a coup orchestrated by a young and upcoming political elite, the founders of the *Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario* (MNR, 'National Revolutionary Movement') party, the 1952 movement went onto recruit the population en masse. It attracted indigenous support because it promoted the rights of indigenous as citizens of the nation. Some of main social outcomes of the Revolution were: 'universal vote' (which this time extended to giving indigenous people the right to vote for the first time), a serious attempt to address the state of unfair distribution of the land through an agrarian reform, and universal access to education through an educational reform; although in the end its shortcomings also became evident, as we shall see.

To counteract the failings of the Republican system, it was conceived that existing divisions (which had been working in full force up to the Chaco War) were a detrimental impediment to the progress of the nation. This obstacle would go away, it was thought, if only indigenous people were integrated into the nation as culturally

assimilated citizens. Klein describes how the assimilationist project that became part of the 1952 Revolutionary project drove indigenous people to join the elite vision towards modernisation, even when this was met with abandoning any demands that worked against such a project, or got in the way of international monetary institutions in charge of designing the economic programmes of the reconfigured Bolivian nation after the revolution (Klein 2003).

If in the 1800s period of republic formation, the Creole nationhood had claimed its own idea of civilisation and identity which placed the Indian as 'Other' to counteract the Indian majority and their claims to land ancestry (Larson 1999: 563), the Revolution of the 1952 sought to incorporate the Indian majority into citizenship. However, becoming a full-fledged citizen who qualified for participation in a more equalitarian allocation of rights and resources, also implied for the Indian, abandoning his/her old cultural self to become a subject in the class and market systems, and rule of law.

After tracing the historical trajectory of indigenous identities in Bolivia, Bautista concludes that the result of the structural changes of the first half of the 20th century, which included the industrialisation of the country as a result of the Chaco War and the 1952 Revolution, 'allowed the peasant to become a worker, that is a peasant worker with a modern rather than ancestral consciousness' (Bautista 2010: 158, my translation). The passage from Indio to peasant meant having to adopt a new cosmovision: modernity.

Whilst the nation was reformulating itself, there was an ideological push to legitimize the new political leadership by fabricating shared imaginaries that acknowledged indigenous as well as European heritage in the constitution of a national identity. This ideology was called *mestizaje,* as an acknowledgment of the cultural mix in the making of Bolivians although carefully selecting elements particular elements of the mix.

The concept of 'hegemony' as the ability of dominant groups to establish their own views as 'common sense' in the eyes of subordinate groups, and the uses of folklore to propagate an official and political project (Gramsci in Sacristán ed. 1978: 490), are key to understand the ideological thrust of mestizaje in the establishment of local certain traditions as 'national' during the 1940s and again in the 1970s. As we

shall see later, this is the framework for the rise of Carnival from the periphery of Oruro to national symbol in 1944 and its legal reaffirmation in this position in 1970.

The critical readings of Bolivian sociologist Zavaleta Mercado (1987) are key to interpret the political significance of the following decades. The reformulation and modernization of the nation continued during the 1960s and 1970s, although it eventually lost its legitimacy among the lower social sectors of the population to whom it had become obvious that rather than promoters of a proletarian (or I would add, pro-indigenous) ideology, the MNR should be seen as the party 'of the democratic-bourgeois revolution in Bolivia' (Zavaleta Mercado 1987: 97). The MNR's bourgeois ambitions emerged as the direction of the political agenda started to migrate towards the interests of powerful groups, and foreign intervention (particularly from US companies with investments in the country) (Klein 2003). For Zavaleta Mercado, the political instability that ensued in the 1970s and 1980s was a result of the militarization power, which accompanied the MNR during this period, as opposition from several groups started to materialize (Zavaleta Mercado 1987: 118).

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, Oruro had lived under relatively low profile, because the colonial legacy of mining had defined its identity and means of survival from early on. The upsurge of mining in the first half the 1800s meant, for Potosí and Oruro, the emergence of all-powerful mining families, such as the Aramayos, the Patiños and the Arzes, and the intervention of foreign investment in mineral exploitation which came mainly from the UK, and the US (Klein 2003: 124). Despite the financial crisis of the post-independence period, and as a result of being an economic centre, Oruro was among the first towns to get modern infrastructure, which later translated into a railway line, electricity and access to modern services. However, the divide between rural and urban life, as in the rest of the Andes, meant a huge gap between the more or less literate Spanish speaking population of the urban centres, and the agricultural, impoverished, illiterate, and Aymara speakers of the countryside.

Oruro's role as a mining centre continued, with its ups and downs in the global market prices of mineral, until the 1980s. The collapse of the international tin market in 1985, and a growing internal political and economic crisis, brought about the economic decline of Oruro and Potosí (Klein 2003: 246), as the (MNR) government

called for International Monetary Fund programmes to deal with the financial recovery for the nation. This meant the closure or privatization of most mines in Oruro, and the relocation of its mineworkers to different regions. Mining, the one aspect that had characterized Oruro throughout its history, had come to a closure. It wasn't until the 2000s, when the global metal market picked up again and the industry was revitalized again.

Politically, the 1980s brought a climate of major political strife to the nation: of coalitions of right/centre/left to prop up presidencies that failed, and of vice-presidents plotting with the military to take power (Morales 2010: 205). The neoliberal policies dictated by global financial institutions that ensued in the 1990s carried the implementation of 'authoritarian means to maintain order' among growing discontent (Morales 2010: 211). The surge in social and indigenous movements around Latin America made the ground fertile for the resurfacing of historical indigenous demands that had been silenced with the reforms of 1952 in Bolivia, whereas the living conditions of indigenous peoples had little changed from the start of the century. In the context of the 500-year remembrance of the Spanish Conquest in 1992, and the rise of the Zapatistas in Mexico in 1994, indigenous movements had a much more protagonist role in the life of Latin American nations from then on.

By the end of the 1990s in Bolivia, tensions had escalated between the inter-changing political figures and the increasing voice of social movements frustrated at government policies. By 2002, whilst the ruthless economic policies implemented were based on a neoliberal free market agenda under the supervision of Washington, 60% of the population lived under the poverty line (Morales 2010: 226). After the bloody conflicts of the Water and Gas Wars – brought about by the clash between popular sectors and the government's neoliberal policies, a series of presidents were brought, and after an unprecedented election, Evo Morales emerged as the new president of Bolivia.

Evo Morales, the Aymara representative of a new and unheard of political party associated to the coca growing region of the valleys (Movimiento Al Socialismo, MAS) had won with a record percentage of vote (53%), particularly favoured by Andean voters in Oruro, La Paz, Cochabamba and Potosí.

The new visibility of Aymaras in Bolivia and the powerful emergence of Evo Morales as a Latin American political leader has once more brought along a series of questions about the nation's identity: about what it meant to be Bolivian, the role of race and ethnicity in these constructions, and the role of indigenous legacies and knowledges in the making of the nation (I shall discuss this in more detail in Chapter 6).

These political concerns, which have emerged from the historical developments of the nation in the last five hundred years: the role of indigeneity in the making of national identity, the rural/urban dichotomy, the visibility (or the absence) of indigenous groups in popular imaginaries, the rights and duties of indigenous people towards the nation and the rest of the population – find profound resonance in the practices of the festive in Bolivia. I have found an important point of historical/cultural/political convergence in the festive that mirrors the developments of the nation as a whole, which is why I have taken some time to summarise the history of the region before any analysis of the empirical data.

Having established the developments across time and space that serve as the context for my interpretation of the Oruro Carnival as a site of socio-cultural transformations, I shall now discuss a very significant factor of the topic in hand: the epistemic dimension of 'carnival' as a phenomenon that grounds knowledge and discourses.

3.4 The Epistemic Dimension of 'Carnival'

Foucault's notion of episteme as the historical context that grounds knowledge and discourses (Foucault 2002 [1966]) serves me here to discuss the distinctive epistemological frameworks associated to the phenomenon of Carnival, which define its polyvalence of meanings across time and space.

I shall illustrate what is meant with the following example. It has been argued that Carnival, in the case of the Andes, is more related to the period *jallupacha* ('rainy season' in Aymara) than it is to a festive date (Lara Barrientos 2007: 20). This makes it possible to see that there are two main epistemological frameworks at work in the celebration: Andean indigenous religions and Catholicism. The points of connection between the two have developed over time as a product of the power negotiations between the two frameworks, Catholicism as the religion of the dominant, and Andean

religiosity as the expressions of the dominated. Strategies of domination, such as the colonial Extirpation of Idolatries applied in the seventeenth century to eliminate traces of Andean indigenous religions that were deemed a threat to the political power of the Spaniards produced changes on existing practices but not necessarily their disappearance. In order to improve their chances of survival, Andean religious practices had to undergo a process of transformation and negotiation, which resulted in both Catholicism and Andean religiosity adapting to one another, and acquiring a different set of characteristics. This process of exchange has sometimes been called syncretism (Celestino 1988), but in the opinion of some (MacCormack 1991, Estenssoro 1992), syncretism is too neutral a description that does not acknowledge the violence involved in some of these negotiations, and is not representative of individual identity selective processes (Nash 1993). The festive has been one of the main outlets for these conflictive juxtapositions, superimpositions, and transmissions, and Carnival is an expression of both the tensions and encounters between these two very different epistemological frameworks.

Here I shall develop two of the main epistemological frameworks at play: the European Carnival, the Andean Fiesta, and a third section which deals with the series of Carnival-related mythological narratives that serve to historicise Oruro in the context of popular imaginaries.

3.4.1 European Carnival

As we know, the celebration of Carnival in Bolivia is the result of a European import—Christianity and the Christian calendar—and existing Andean practices. Medieval ideas of the popular, Lent, and the everyday frame the celebration of Carnival, which was imposed as part of the Christian calendar, and continues to be lived in and experienced today.

For the Christian world – clearly certain regions more so than others – Carnival signals the start of Lent, a period marked by fasting, prayer and introspection. In Oruro, the days that precede Carnival are ripe with its anticipation, as people prepare to celebrate the holiday with food, drink, popular entertainment. It occupies the most special time of the year, lasting from November to March, during which there is indeed little life outside it, with particular focus on the parade.

During this particular space and time, the city is suspended in preparation. Performers are busy learning the dances, and arranging their costumes, as corners of the city are taken over by rehearsing troupes. The cultural and religious authorities are engaged in a variety of events. Traders are involved in increased activity, as visitors arrive.

In order to contextualise the European concept of carnival, Burke (1994 [1978]) gives a historical account of festivals in early modern Europe (from 1500 to 1800), in the period previous to industrialisation[21]. He describes the festival as the urban setting of the popular-festive, turning the city into a stage (Burke 1994 [1978]: 178).

For early modern Europeans, Carnival represented was a time of liberation, which included the symbolic representation of three presences: food, sex, and violence (Burke 1994 [1978]: 186). Bakhtin places the focus on the 'culture of the marketplace' (1984 [1965]: 7), whereby the body and the popular (the crowd) take centre-stage, away from the constraints and structure of everyday life. Bakhtin's notion of the 'carnivalesque' Carnival is a 'dramatic' of coming together between nature and society (1984 [1965]: 7).

Carnival is Oruro's largest official celebration, where merriment, rituality and community come to the forefront, and people invest in their wellbeing through eating, socialising, dancing and sharing with family and visitors. Food is a ubiquitous presence in every corner of the city, as people eat in abundance and leave the debris of packaging and unfinished meals behind, also special foods are prepared that mark the special character of the period. People from very mixed social backgrounds take part, drinking large amounts of alcohol, dressing up, improvising water games, and inhabiting the same festive space for the duration of the events – creating new forms of communication. Carnival in Oruro is not a spectacle that people observe from the outside, as everyone becomes a participant in the dancing, the playfulness, the drinking and the socialising. Such world of chaos and excess is allowed because it is

[21] For Burke, looking at culture during this period entails an exercise of the imagination given our contemporary positionality as readers. To understand the period of his study, he suggests we 'think away' television, radio, cinema, railways, universal education and literacy, class-consciousness, the idea of the nation, and our confidence in technology and science. Industrialisation set off huge cultural changes, which influence the way we 'understand' popular culture, but Burke's study has to be read in a context previous to it. (Burke 2009 [1978]: xiv-xv)

done in the context of a religious ritual, and obeys the order of time, and the need to adjust and explain nature and its phenomena, which human beings experience but are unable to control, through rites (Caro Baroja 2006: 19-20).

By thinking of Carnival in Oruro as 'carnivalesque' we appreciate its location the realm of popular culture, allowing for playfulness, catharsis, communication, creativeness and transgression, in anticipation of the containment and subjugation that are part of non-festive life in the Andes.

However, it has been argued that the fertility of the Carnivalesque lays in its ability as an event to absorb traditions from all places and times into it (Caro Baroja 2006: 76). The setting of Oruro brings its own nuances, as it is also an affair inscribed in popular Andean religiosity. If the Carnivalesque means relief from everyday constraint, the authorities in charge of Carnival in Oruro constantly strive to make it controlled and choreographed. Abercrombie's interpretation of the celebration (1992) makes it clear that the dogmatic side of Catholicism often sits in tension with the more excessive desires of its actors, and the general dynamics of the popular-festive in the Andes related to the period.

In the next section, we will explore the implications of the period in the Andes, and what it brings to the festivity, and its actors, and how Carnival is transformed into a 'contact zone' (Pratt 1996).

3.4.2 Andean Religion

Carnival coincides with the flowering of potatoes and other crops in the Andes, and is implanted in the rainy season of the highlands (*jallupacha*). As Stobart (2006) suggests (contributing to findings by Arnold and Yapita 1996, and Allen 2002), there is in the Andes an analogy between humans as 'living sentient beings' and potatoes (Stobart 2006: 234). The flowering of potato crops is associated to life as a whole, to renewal, and the relationship between life and death.

The rainy season in the Andes is also the time of the dead,[22] who are considered helpers in the development of agricultural produce in Aymara cosmology (Téllez Nava 2003: 19, Harris 2000). Harris (2000) documented that among the Laymi people in

[22] See also Nash 1993, and Romero et al 2003.

Northern Potosí, the dead are the souls of ancestors that descend for All-Saints Day (November 2) from the top of the mountains and remain close to the living until Carnival celebrations send them back to their mountains for another yearly cycle. Carnival marks thus the end of this period, the dispatch of the dead and the renewal of another agricultural cycle. Both Harris (2000) and Stobart (2006) observed that men dressed in devil figures that represent the souls of the dead come out to play and dance during the celebration of Carnival in the highlands of Northern Potosí. Stobart (2006) has also observed that the specific rituality of Carnival is linked to how certain musical expressions (rhythms, instruments, and songs) accompany particular moments in the life of agricultural production.

Carnival emerges in this context as a part of a network of festive practices embedded in the rituality of agricultural production, with particular ritual practices attached that ensure the continuity of life. The jallupacha period as a whole, from November to March, coincides with the preparations and celebration of the urban Carnival of Oruro. In the same period, there is in the city an increase of activity in religious temples, particularly Catholic churches. On the other hand, non-Christian sacred shrines such as the pre-Hispanic wak'as around the city, also see an increased influx of visitors and devotees during this period. These dynamics reach other members of the population, outside of the realm of the sacred. The streets are taken over by rehearsing conjuntos, and market places receive dancers looking for costume materials. Traders set up outside the different shrines and temples to sell the ingredients requirements for offerings (be they Christian or pagan); the services of hair-dressers, hotels and costume-makers have more demand as the dancers get ready to perform, and the city welcomes thousands visitors. This period coincides with other popular festivities: Christmas/New Year and the festivities around the *Ekeko* (Aymara deity of abundance) in January, which contribute with their own religious-festive bustle, and there are many other Carnival-related celebrations (Appendix B shows a list of what these are). By the time Carnival weekend arrives, the city is completely immersed in festive-religious expressions of popular culture as the urban climax of these preparations is the feast of the Carnival parade.

Stobart observed that despite local differences observed, rural jallupacha dispatch ceremonies all 'invoked the separation between the living and the ambiguous

ancestral and chthonic forces brought together during the rains' (Stobart 2006: 264). These ritual dancing ceremonies are called *Anata* or *Pujllay* (both words that mean 'play' in Aymara and Quechua, respectively) (Véliz López 2002).

Lara Barrientos (2007) has observed that despite official discourses that state the predominant vision that Carnival is a celebration of Christian values (which we shall explore further in Chapter 4), the significance of taking part in the festivity for many rests on the miraculous powers of the Virgin to grant requests if the person dances with devotion (Lara Barrientos 2007: 76). On the relationship between well-being and faith, Calestani has found in her ethnographic work among Aymara urban migrants in El Alto, that the key concept to understand is that of *suerte*. Suerte, which in some regional contexts equals wellbeing, 'can be acquired through effort and work by asking for protection from supernatural forces' (Calestani 2009: 55). This relationship between one's effort and one's share of wellbeing is usually mediated by the protection awarded by Andean supernatural forces or spirits, which indicates that a set of values at a distance from orthodox Christianity are at play. This is further evidence that a wider epistemological framework of Andean cosmology is at play.

On the process of synthesis between pre-Hispanic symbols and religion and their re-elaboration and configuration to Catholic practices, there is a vast array of literature available. From ethnographic reflections of particular festivities in the Andes which conjure up these synthetic processes (Sallnow 1987, Mendoza 2000, Canepa 1998, Albó and Preiswerk 1986, Abercrombie 1992), to historical or sociological studies on Andean Catholicism (MacCormack 1991, Celestino 1988), and those with a ethnographic focus on agricultural festive-religious practices in Bolivia (Arnold et al. 1992, Bouysse-Cassagne and Harris 1987, Buechler 1980, Harris 2000, and Stobart 2006), the place of the Oruro Carnival is already contextualised by these works, in that it clearly belongs to the matrix of *fiestas patronales* in the region which incorporate popular and pre-Hispanic symbols into the network of Catholic celebrations. In the case of Oruro this is given in the focus on the Virgin of the Mineshaft and the celebration of Candlemas.

The interconnections and dialogical dynamics between indigenous Andean religions and European Catholicism become evident when we observe the performative aspect – the mix of Andean and Christian symbols and values in the

practice – such as the presence of dancing devils inside a Christian temple. I would suggest that carnival in the Andes might be regarded as a 'contact zone' (Pratt 1996), which may serve to explain the polyvalence of meaning and symbols of Carnival in the Andes. Mary Louise Pratt has observed that 'contact zones' are sites of convergence for cultures with different historical trajectories (Pratt 1996). Postcolonial societies are 'contact zones' par excellence, in that they emerge as sites of tension and negotiation between cultures resulting of violence and invasion (Pratt 1996). The idea of Oruro as a religious 'contact zone' has to be seen against the advance of Catholicism in the region.

3.4.3 The spiritual conquest of the Andes

The trajectory of Carnival in the Andes is the result of two cultural frameworks colliding, meeting violently at the start of the sixteenth century. The historical developments that followed that 'encounter' are part of the spiritual conquest of the Andes.

The Christianisation of all the indigenous population was part of the colonial project from early on, in order to reduce and remove the 'Otherness' of indigenous cultures. In the seventeenth century, the process of was supported the *extirpación de idolatrías* ('extirpation of idolatries'), a strategy whereby anything perceived as 'idolatrous' by Spanish religious authorities was to be visibly removed. The extirpation of idolatry was launched, with the systematic destruction of Andean objects, places of worship, and the bodies of mummies and ancestors on a massive scale (MacCormack 1991: 12).

Under the command of Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, anyone found guilty of 'idolatry' was punished, particularly focusing on the 'ministers' of those practices, according to de Arriaga (2002 [1621]). MacCormack points out that these were public displays of destruction, torture, burning and rendering of certain practices impossible (1991: 427), which tried to both eliminate and discourage the continuity of old practices.

Behind this 'extirpation' of signs of previous cultural and religious practices deemed 'idolatrous', was the conquerors' conviction that in order to accomplish the colonial project, Indians should be made to abandon their own belief system and

adopt Christianity as their own. Pablo José de Arriaga, *extirpador*, describes in *La Extirpación de la Idolatría en el Pirú* (2002 [1621]) how it was becoming evident that continuing indigenous practices made the complete acculturation of Indians into Spanish ways impossible. It was, in short, another strategy for domination. Consequently, as Pratt (1996) has suggested as a characteristic of contact zones, pre-Christian cultural practices underwent great transformations but did not completely disappear.

At the time, missionary Christianity turned the universe into a series of polarized sets of opposites: demonic and divine, sacred and secular, good and evil; but in the Andes, society and nature were spelled out differently because 'the sacred [was capable of] inheriting in things independently from human action or ritual' (MacCormack 1991: 337-8). The physical destruction of a deity did not entail its abstract disappearance because deities were primarily anchored in the natural environment, and were engaged in the everyday life of the community as captured in the myths and legends that helped to transmit knowledges and customs (MacCormack 1991: 441). Saints started to be honoured in the way that Andeans had honoured their own deities, with offerings of coca leaves and *chicha* (a local fermented corn drink), complemented by the ambiguities of the religious calendar, which often coincided with an existing agricultural festivity.

Despite the Church's best efforts to expel pre-Hispanic cultural traits through strategies such as the 'extirpation of idolatries', Carnival in Oruro still responds to a wider network of Andean ritual practices related to jallupacha in the rural highlands, as well as to Christian values and practices.

Pratt (1992) reminds us that culture does not disappear after invasion, it only transforms. This hybridity is the result of compromises and convergences between two epistemological approaches to the world, 'two religions, two supernatural worlds, jostling each other on a daily basis' (MacCormack 1991: 420), giving rise to new forms to perform Catholicism.

3.4.4 An Andean Catholic Feast

I would suggest that the Oruro Carnival, rather than a Catholic festivity as supported in officialist and popular discourses, is an Andean Catholic feast, because it

belongs in the networks of Andean religiosity, and it also complies with local Catholic beliefs and forms.

Beyond the Christian symbolism, Albó concludes that the fiesta is part of the system of religious and cosmological expressions performed by people in the Andes, which link festive and Christian elements with the acknowledgement of a different system of beliefs anchored in an alternative cosmovision. I find his description very complete: the significance of the fiesta lies in the richness of its symbolic charge, and the social and sensorial climax it can generate. He mentions that food and drink must be abundant, for its ritual consumption, and that the occasion must happen in a context of reciprocity that helps to build the community. He says that the senses must be heightened in every sense, in order to encourage social communion and the encounter with the sacred forces that live beyond the world of the living. (Albó et al n/d, quoted in Lara Barrientos 2007: 20)

Apart from the sensorial and liberating aspect of the carnivalesque, according to this perspective, one must take into account new meanings, such as the link between ideas of reciprocity and the reaffirmation of the participation of a being from another world who helps determine the lives of the living. These ideas expose the application of a different cultural and epistemological system with a focus on Andean rather than Catholic European practices.

On the other hand, the work of Rowe and Schelling (1991) on the 'different faces' of popular culture in the Andes suggests that a culturally hybrid popular form of Catholicism comes to life mainly in special rituals of the agricultural calendar, and 'rites of passage' such as weddings, funerals, christenings, not to forget communal dates such as patron saint days (Rowe and Schelling 1991). Catholic saints become involved in Andean systems of reciprocity that are not seen in orthodox Catholic practice. Rowe and Schelling (1991: 76) observe that popular Catholicism is not less fervent than 'official' Catholicism, as dedication is great and goes alongside Andean religious practices, which are concerned with 'the everyday livelihood of self and family for whose benefit the assistance of the saints is sought' (1991: 70).

Because it is evident that both worldviews are manifested in the practices that make up the Oruro festivity (clearly for some actors more so than for others), the Oruro Carnival is often cited as an exemplary phenomenon of the cultural syncretism

of the region. Antonio Revollo, one of Oruro's most recognised Carnival scholars wrote:

> From ancient times URU-URU (Oruro) was a centre of religious pilgrimage. Its ethno-historical and symbolic processes did not change in essence, only in form. Its surviving ritual processes function as means to communicate both with Andean deities and with Catholic saints, all of whom live in liturgical symbiosis. (Revollo 2003, exordio, p. xix, my translation)

This is a popular view: that the 'essence' of the celebration has not changed since the 'dawn of time' ('*épocas pretéritas'*). It is implied here that there is little different between Andean and Christian religiosity, the Pachamama and the Virgin, and what differences are there are mainly in form. This perspective emerges from viewing Carnival as a 'syncretic' expression, which allows for many seemingly contradictory forms to find a home in it.

This is the reasoning that validates much of the symbolic capital of the Oruro Carnival deployed by many of the social actors involved in the festivity, and in the value of the event as identity-definer for Bolivia's national imaginary, which has been particularly enhanced in the UNESCO listing of Oruro Carnival as World Intangible Heritage.

I suggest that this is too simplistic. MacCormack (1991) demonstrated that the so-called syncretism between Andean religion and Christianity was achieved in tension rather than in harmony, and signals that the impact of conversion has to be considered if trying to understand Andean Christianity, as we shall see.

3.4.5 Syncretism – Tensions and Continuities

The notion that festive behaviour organizes social life whilst rooted in the dynamics of a collective identity has been discussed by Celestino (1988). This refers to the fact that collective identity is established in relation to a particular saint or patron through the involvement of the majority of the population in the fiesta. In the case of Oruro this would apply to the Virgin of the Mineshaft, who becomes 'a symbol of the people, the official protector in difficulty, need, and decisions of the individual or the community… [offering] an opportunity to participate in reciprocity' (Celestino 1988: 11, my translation). One of the consequences of this relationship is the reinforcement of the continuity between people-community-territory, and the saint or figure in

question, which could well server to explain why Orureños popularly call themselves the children of the Mamita ('somos los hijos de la mamita') ('we are the children of the Mamita') in reference to this collective identification with her. The Virgin helps to make the continuity between any individual and place.

For Inca-descendent Garcilaso de la Vega (1991 [1609]), a devout Catholic, Inca religion ought to be understood as a step closer to Christianity (as Guamán Poma de Ayala argued in 2004 [1615]), possibly seeking to make possible a harmonious coming together of the two worldviews. Those views did not prevail at the time because contemporary with Garcilaso was the extirpation of idolatries, by which point Andeans were no longer considered equals but 'despised tribute-paying Indians' (MacCormack 1991:12). This illustrates that the problem with syncretism is that it does not seem to take into account the power relations which shape the decision of which trait of a culture remains and which one is removed—of how cultural amalgamation happens.

Nash (1993) has argued that the notion of syncretism – as a way to describe cultural amalgamation, or the homogenous blend of indigenous and colonial beliefs with ideologies of modernity in Latin America – is not a true reflection of the Andes, where two worldviews live side by side and each is summoned at a time and a place. Instead, she sees Carnival as a process of compartmentalising, of 'separating out and assigning a separate place, time, and context in which each is appropriate' (1993: 121). In fact, Estenssoro's study of religion in the Andes (1992) showed evidence of how the extirpation of idolatries campaign resorted to assigning a place and a time for the otherwise forbidden activity of ritual dancing.

Estenssoro (1992) remarks that the aim of the eventual negotiation of traditions between Spanish and Andean practices which gave rise to the *fiesta*, was to maintain cultural differences between members of the different republics: the Indian and the Spanish; rather than to incorporate Indians into a Spanish way of life (1992: 378-80). This is more like apartheid than syncretism.

Contrary to the idea that syncretism is all-embracing, I also witnessed the persistent segregation of practices to particular religious, ethnic, and cultural contexts. There was process compartmentalisation of behaviour around what was considered permissible or 'decent' during Carnival (see also Araoz 2003 for a study of 'decency' in this context) but not allowed in everyday contexts, particularly among certain groups.

For example there was the issue of wearing a *pollera* (urban indigenous skirt), or performing the *pijchu* (ritual coca chewing), both of which are perceived to belong to the body of practices of (urban) Indians. Interestingly, they are also part of the body of carnival traditions, having been selected as part of the official set of practices that institutions actively promote in the regulation of the event (ACFO 2008), in the belief that they authenticate Carnival as an expression of ancestral legacies.

However, many of those who practiced them in the Carnival context would not be seen doing so outside of the festive, because of its pejorative ethnic connotations. To me this is indication that it was acceptable to look and act 'Indian' as part of Carnival practices, but outside of the festive context naturalised and prevailing racist views apply. Sallnow (1987) has demonstrated that ethnicity and class play an important role in determining the type of narratives people adhere to through their participation in popular Catholicism, and I hope to further demonstrate this in Chapter 4.

Syncretism is not, in my experience, the most useful way to approach religion and faith in the context of the Andes, however it has become a lens through which Carnival is interpreted. This is particularly the case for local researchers (Nava 2004, Revollo 2003, Guerra Gutierrez 1998), as manifested in the bid that was prepared to gain UNESCO award in 2001.

The popular Catholicism expressed in the Oruro Carnival parade is varied, changing shape and meaning from conjunto to conjunto. I will look at this in more detail in Chapter 5. However, there is no denying that the Church and the cultural authorities of the region try to instil more strict guidelines for the practices of Catholicism allowed in the parade. Since the 1960s, the Church of the Mineshaft has dominated the festivity to the extent that nowadays only Catholics are allowed to take part in the event (Nava, in interview), and practices considered improper (i.e. ritual drinking) are heavily monitored. These parameters undermine the 'carnivalesque' character of the festivity, and sit in tension with the connections to a world of supernatural deities that Andean religiosity seeks to establish.

To end this section, I want to turn to the issue of existing oral literature about the Carnival, where those tensions find an outlet.

3.4.6 Mythological Narratives

A great deal could be said about the body of oral literature related to Carnival traditions. Unfortunately that would be beyond scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless, as it is evident that mythical narratives feature heavily in the establishment of continuities of the symbolic imaginaries of Carnival, I shall devote some space to the topic.

Sallnow (1987) demonstrated that one of the failings of the 'extirpation' campaign, was that it did not have the capability to remove the wak'as from indigenous 'creed' – Indians continued to venerate the wak'as under the names and images of Saints which now 'peopled the landscape' (p. 52). As Christian temples emerged on the sites of sacred shrines of before, mythical narratives of the miraculous filled in the continuity gap.

As a premise, I would suggest that the importance of myths in the context of the festivity is twofold: firstly, that they provide bridges of continuity when 'official recorded history' is unachievable. This emerges from the dialectical relationship between myths and history (Hill 1988). Secondly, that there is a link between social order and the cultural processes represented in myths (Rasnake 1988: 139). In other words, through myths there is an attempt to make sense of the contradictions of the present through 'mythic re-creations and transformations of the past' (Rasnake 1988: 152).

For the case of the Oruro Carnival in Bolivia, given that non-written forms are key to understanding many of the traditions and practices maintained in the Bolivian highlands, local researchers have been lured into tracing back the origins and explanation of the many symbols that emerge from the dances, the costumes and the traditions of Carnival celebrations. There is a vast array of research literature about the festivity and connected expressions which aims to locate a point of origin in space and time that supports its findings on the three myths already described (Condarco 1995, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2005 and 2007; Nava 2003, 2004; Revollo 1999, 2003; Murillo V. 1999; Boero Rojo 1993a, b and c; Zaconeta 1925; Cazorla 2003; Cazorla and Cazorla 2005; Llanque 2005; Véliz López 2003; Fortún 1961; Gisbert 2007; among others). This literature attempts to mark the precise trajectory of the festivity from a precolonial period placed in the distant past to the present point, with particular focus on the

moment at which Christianity intervened, how it emerged in the mine, and how costumes and other material forms have developed over the years.

I found that the surfacing of myths was particularly evident when Carnival dancers and costume-makers tried to historicise Oruro or the festivity, particularly those periods that are sketchy or absent from written records (i.e. Pre-colonial Oruro), and when cultural authorities want to establish their familiarity with the origins of the celebration. I also noted that although these accounts appear constantly in written and religious literature about Oruro, dancers, costume-makers and other participants did not always know their details or even their plot – despite the fact that the same mythical structured accounts are ubiquitous in touristic brochures and any other promotional document about Carnival. Before we look at the possible reasons for this, we must first look at some examples of myths in Oruro.

Of all the body of myths and legends that make up the oral literature of Oruro, there are three main accounts repeated and transmitted over and over again. According to local historian Beltrán Heredia (1962), these three main narratives (which are now part of official discourses about Carnival, as we shall see in Chapter 4) are important because they provide a path to the origins of the Carnival tradition, and establish connections between contemporary dance culture and the different cultures that have inhabited Oruro across time. These are the Chiru-chiru legend in '*La Virgen del Socavón y la Corte Infernal*' (Zaconeta in 1925); the legend of the Nina-nina, written as *Novena de la Virgen del Socavón* (Villarroel 1999 [1908]), and the myth of Huari which Beltrán Heredia entitles '*La Virgen del Socavón y sus Devotos Danzarines*' (Beltrán Heredia 1962: 67). There is another version of this same myth called *Huari y los Urus*, by Terán Erquicia (1999 [1943]).

I shall give a brief outline of each, and offer a historical interpretation of the narratives projected from these accounts.

3.4.7 The Nina-nina Legend

An account of this legend was transcribed by Emeterio Villarroel (1999 [circa 1908, in the *Novena de la Virgen del Socavón*]) from a manuscript called *Folletín Candelizas de la milagrosa Virgen del Socavón*.

In 1789 on Carnival Saturday night, pauper Anselmo (also known as the Nina-nina) went to pay Lorenza Choquiamo a visit in her house in Conchupata, near the Ranchería. They intended to elope as Lorenza's wealthy father was against their marriage. The Nina-nina was a well-known thief. When Lorenza's father found them eloping, he attacked the Nina-nina fatally wounding him. Later, a mysterious woman took the dying thief to hospital, found him a priest and gave him her blessing before completely disappearing. The Nina-nina told the priest during his last confession that the woman who had helped him was none other than the Virgin of the Candlemas, of whom he had been a devotee all his life. The written account of the legend concludes thus 'This is how the frenetic cult to the Virgin of the Mineshaft was born' (Villarroel, in Murillo V. and Revollo 1999: 48, my translation). This makes an explicit link between Oruro and the origin of 'frenetic cult' to the Virgin during Carnival.

It is implied in the legend that 1789 marks the year of the origins of the Carnival parade in honour of the Virgin. This has been taken literally by many local researchers (Beltrán Heredia 2004, Murillo Vacarreza 1999, Nava 2004, Boero Rojo 1993a, b and c) who speak of this myth as the 'first record' of the celebration in 1789.

Rasnake observed that myths are not just ways of transmitting things/values of the past, for myths are modified and shaped according to contemporary concerns of past events (Rasnake 1988: 140). It could be argued, then, that the prominence of the Nina-nina legend in current discourses also serves a more contemporary role: to establish an 'original' spatio-temporal link between the Marian cult, the Carnival festivity, and Oruro as a location. This becomes particularly relevant in contemporary debates about the ownership and origin of dances in the public debates between different regions and nations (in print media and online)

On the other hand, it also features the two themes that are popularly quoted as the main interpretation of Carnival dance: repentance, and the miracles of Marian apparition and intervention – both deep-rooted Christian ideals.

Sallnow (1987) has documented the use of an apparition of a divine figure (a miraculous theophany) in the Andes as a 'Christian transplant, propagated by the clergy' (p. 54). He suggests that the role of myths in providing continuities to historical ruptures is related to the spread of Christianity in the region. The timing of

the ‘actions’ in the legend (1789) may be elucidating of this point, in that it was only a few years after the great 1780 indigenous uprisings, which reached Oruro in 1782.

Condarco (2005) observes that at that time, there was a temporary decline of the cult of the Virgin of the Mineshaft, amidst a crisis in mining, which had submerged Oruro in near bankruptcy. The indigenous revolts of the 1780s had proved to the elites that the cultural and political project of the colony could still be overturned, from where emerges a need to find peaceful ways of reinforcing the cultural project of Christianity, in order to avoid the re-emergence of discontent among the urban cholo and indigenous population. Condarco suggests that the Virgin’s miraculous apparition in Oruro could be interpreted as an attempt to reinvigorate the miraculous powers of Christian figures to be projected over the 1781 indigenous revolts.

The significance of the miraculous phenomenon in this tale, as a response to crises (Sallnow 1987: 88) is relevant to the mythical character of other Andean narratives, as we shall see.

3.4.8 The Chiru-chiru Legend

The Chiru-chiru legend is often confused with the *Nina-nina* legend because the names and plots are quite similar – but not at all identical, as we shall see. José Victor Zaconeta included a written version of it in his *Odas y Poemas* (1925). This is considered to be the first ‘recorded’ reference of the Devil dance (Beltrán Heredia 2004: 51), describing the parade and music it in detail. Zaconeta does not give a precise date but mentions that the events of the legend would have happened three centuries ago, which would take us back to the first part of the seventeenth century, around the time of the foundation of Oruro in 1606 (Condarco 2005: 147).

The *Chiru-chiru* was a petty thief at night, stealing from the rich to give to the poor. He lived in a cave at the feet of the mining centre at the Pie de Gallo hill, at the start of the colonial mining industry. One night, when trying to rob a man in the street, he was fatally wounded. The Virgin appeared, she carried him back to his cave and nursed him, as he repented. On his death, a painted image of the Virgin appeared miraculously on the wall. Three days after the discovery of the body and the image, the miners came to an agreement: to change the name of the mine from *Pie de Gallo* (‘Cockerel’s Feet’) to *Socavón de la Virgen* (‘Mineshaft of the Virgin’); to dance as

devils and represent dramatically the fall of Lucifer during Carnival; and to prepare songs and special prayers in the Virgin's honour. This account also states that the Virgin of the Mineshaft was declared patron-saint of miners in Oruro.

This narrative, written in 1925, establishes a point of encounter between ritual dancing and Marian devotion at the critical time of the foundation of the city as a colonial mining epicentre. Like the Nina-nina legend, it assigns the mine a primordial role. Condarco (2007: 89) has argued that this legend served to introduce the cult of the Virgin of the Mineshaft into 'sacred Andean time' and existing local religious activity dedicated to the *Tío de la Mina* (the 'uncle of the mine'). It is clear for the author that there is a manifest connection between the emergence of this legend (some 'three hundred years ago') and the need to counteract the symbolic power of the Tío de la Mina, a mining deity that he has been traced back to underground pre-Inca Uru deities.

The process of turning indigenous sacred shrines into Christian temples and a place of pilgrimage in the Andes has been discussed elsewhere (Sallnow 1987). Sallnow has suggested that this process is related to the sixteenth century's regionalization and expansion of the cult of Christianity, aimed at combining 'Christian and indigenous notions of divinity' (1987: 142). As we have already discussed in an earlier section, the push for the evangelisation of indigenous peoples during the colony often made use of indigenous practices and existing cultural structures for the advancement of its own agenda, in what was, in short, another strategy of domination working to suppress the political power of indigenous peoples. He refers to the 'enshrinement' of Cuzco in terms of the apparition of temples dedicated to Christ over existing sacred sites (Sallnow 1987: 76). In the same way, we can speak of the enshrinement of Oruro, as the Virgin takes possession of existing wak'as, whilst indigenous structures and values become eclipsed by the propagation of a new dominant set of ideas.

3.4.9 The Myth of Huari

The myth of *Huari y los urus*, rooted in oral traditions, was first written down by Vicente Terán Erquicia in 1943[23], and there is a more recent version by Beltrán Heredia

[23] This text can be found in the compilation by Murillo and Revollo (1999).

(1962). This myth situates the cult of a female deity much before the arrival of the Spanish, in Uru times.

This is a summary of Beltrán Heredia's version: Huari, a giant deity, dwelled in the hills of Uru-Uru near the area inhabited by the Urus (in contemporary Oruro). He venerated god Pachacamac through Inti (the Sun). Huari fell in love with Inti's daughter, Inti Huara (Dawn), and tried to take her by force. Her father, Inti, rescued her and buried Huari underground. Huari, 'taking the shape of another religion's apostle' (Beltrán Heredia 1962: 227), started to preach against Pachacamac, pushing the Urus to crave for gold and silver. The urus rebelled against their old religious beliefs, became greedy, lazy, and started to drink chicha (an Inca fermented drink sometimes used for rites). They became destructive. The entire population was in decline until rain brought a beautiful dark-skinned maid (*ñusta*). She spoke Uru and a new tongue, Quechua, and came in the company of the wise men of the village, who helped revive all the old traditions and made their dwellings productive again. Taking revenge, Huari, sent in four terrible plagues over the Urus: a giant Snake, a Toad, a Lizard, as well as innumerable devouring ants. They ate all the animals and destroyed people's houses, until the Ñusta came to defeat the beasts. The snake and the toad turned into rock, the blood of the lizard became a red lake, and the ants turned into dunes of sand. In order to frighten Huari, the Ñusta stuck a sword over the hill of Cala-cala, where there is now a church, and peace returned, as Huari, was sent down to live underground, in anger, ever since.

This is a very rich account, and there is no scope here to do it justice. I shall state at this point that there are many elements in it linked to the identity of Oruro as a whole in terms of its landscape, its history and traditions.

The landscape formations that feature in the myth (as a result of the fights) are equivalent to the wak'as that can be found in Oruro landscape, albeit in a state of reversal, for they are malignant. The linguistic development from the language of the Urus to Quechua may be associated to the Inca domination of uru people at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. This also leads to the female heroic figure, who saved the Urus from Huari as Ñusta but later transfigured into the Virgin of the Mineshaft. It is stated in the story that she reappeared later accompanying the Spaniards to 'make Oruro a prosperous city' (Terán Erquicia 1999 [1943]: 57).

As with the previous tales, the focus on miraculous intervention appears to illustrate the superimposition of one set of beliefs over another, as the transfiguration of Uru to Inca to Christian deities seems to suggest. Miraculous emergence is done through the 'historically configured ritual topography' (Sallnow 1987: 89) of Oruro as setting, reinforcing a pattern documented throughout the Andes (Estenssoro 1992, Sallnow 1987, among others), helping to establish a dialectical solution between contradictions and ruptures present in society which have come about as a result of history (Rasnake 1988: 139).

Another significant detail of the myth is the date when it was written. It is believed that the myth already existed orally, when Terán Erquicia wrote it in 1943. As we will see in the next Chapter, the 1940s mark a significant period in processes of nation-building which are in turn linked to the deployment of Carnival as an identity-making strategy in nationalist imaginaries.

By briefly interpreting these narratives from a historical perspective, I have wanted to demonstrate that many clues emerge about the workings of different epistemes that struggle to rise above others.

What I would like to take away from these accounts, and the brief historical interpretations I have offered, is that all three narratives, which are popularly used to historicise Carnival, work to project the absence of pre-Hispanic deities. In those narratives, the latter either defeated, absent or they are Christianised. Christianity thus symbolically superimposes indigenous religions at a mythical level.

The effect they have is the superimposition of one set of beliefs over another one while respecting the fixity of the figure of the Virgin, a miracle and the location of Oruro, which feature in all three accounts. It could then be argued that by pinning these accounts to historical discourses about the festivity and Oruro as a whole, a more general aim becomes more distinguishable: to legitimize Christianity through narratives that have a foundational historical quality for the community they speak 'on behalf of'. This includes the legitimization of particular discourses about what elements of indigenous legacy have gone into the celebration, which we shall analyse in the next chapter.

3.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate that the exploration of Carnival as a case study that illustrates larger socio-political processes can only go through the examination of the contexts that produce the phenomenon of Carnival, in its different conceptual variations.

Here I have looked at the spatial (location), temporal (history) and epistemic (distinguishable cultural-historical paths) dimensions of Carnival in Oruro, in order to contextualise our main premise: that Carnival in Oruro is an example of the use of given sets of imaginaries and symbols in processes of power configuration (Martín-Barbero 2003), and identity formation.

I have shown that popular culture can be analysed as a space of socio-cultural mediation, and so far I have demonstrated that the symbolic capital of the event lies in the richness of meanings and voices that the festivity can mediate. These are voices from distant as well as contemporary periods, conveying indigenous and European cosmologies, and a dialogical relationship between the dominated and the dominant, all converging in the festivity, and sometimes in contradiction with one another.

By an exploration of the different epistemological contexts manifest in the celebration, I have suggested a link between the contemporary socio-economic organization of the event and early colonial European racial classifications deployed to manage and control indigenous peoples.

I have established an important link between the mining history of the city and the surfacing of imaginaries related to the beliefs inside the mine, connected to the emergence of an urban indigenous population.

I have also highlighted particular periods in the life of the city in order to prepare the ground for an analysis of the transformations of the festivity in a historical framework. It emerged that there is here a link between the examples of indigenous resistance throughout nation-making practices, and Creole imaginaries of Indians as an 'Other', to be feared and controlled.

In short, by opening up the 'contexts' of interpretation, I have produced more questions than we had at the start. In the next two chapters, I shall set out learn the more concrete aspects of the celebration, its practices, main actors and institutions.

By knowing what I have learned of the crossing of ‘carnival’ through history, place, and bodies of ideas, I shall be able to identify how those ideas interfere with and inform practice.

4. Festive Memory and National Representation

In this section, we shall focus on the strategies used in the management of festive imaginaries through 'official' discourses of Carnival in Oruro in the construction of a national identity. We have already observed that the festivity's cultural and religious mix is a product of negotiation between the different cultural projects in the region.

Following an initial theoretical framing of the discussion, this chapter will reveal that an interpretation of Carnival's trajectory through the 20th century shows that the festivity moved from the periphery towards the centre from the 1940s onwards, when it stopped being a marginal indigenous event and became a national symbol of Bolivia's cultural mix. However, as we shall see, festive projections of a common cultural identity are the result of a process of de-indianisation of the past. Finally, we shall explore how the legitimisation of hegemonic views of history through the appropriation of the festive has had significant repercussions over the representation of 'the national'.

4.1 The Role of the Festive in Constructions of the National

According to Abercrombie the main purpose of the Oruro Carnival parade is to transform 'the State's citizens into a nation', in that the festival aims to articulate that national citizens do not just share a flag and the national symbols, but a common past (1992: 283). To understand this precept we must first turn to the notion of nationhood.

For Hall, the nation is not a recognisable political entity, but a 'symbolic formation' of representations that produce the nation as an idea

> with whose meanings we could identify and which, through this imaginary identification, constituted its citizens 'as subjects' (in both of Foucault's senses of 'subjection' – subject of and subject to the nation (Hall 1999: 38).

The idea of the nation, since the advent of European communities as nation-states from the nineteenth century, relies on the belief and subjection to the notion of 'oneness', that is, also in the words of Hall, 'one gathering of people, one ethnicity, gathered under one political roof' (1999: 38). Nations give a sense of the unification of an immemorial past with a 'limitless future', for the 'imagined community of nation-ness' is about projecting forward as much as they are about remembering or celebrating what was (Anderson 1991: 11-12). Benedict Anderson (1991) recognised that two of the paradoxes of modernity are contained in the nation: the emergence of the nation as a recent historical phenomenon, and the idea of the community's foundations as rooted in ancient times. For Dussel (2005) nationhood is also a consequence of modernity's constant endeavours to destabilize the past and make past achievement appear obsolete, which is done through nationalist discourses, as observed by Harrison (2008), that appeal to the past to establish links between locality and memory.

Among the challenges faced by the relatively new Latin American Republics, in the context of political and economic developments at the start of the twentieth century, was the establishment of an independent national identity that prompted the integration of its members into a common project for the integration of the country as a player into the world market.

Nationhood requires setting the boundaries of the community, which implies the establishment of both symbolic and figurative maps of the nation. In Latin American, the internal limits to the community were marked by positivist racialism, as a legacy of the colonial 'dual republic system'. The reconfiguration of boundaries under new principles in the context of industrialization in the first half of the twentieth century, prompted Latin American nations to move the emphasis on race as the mark of distinction, but on culture (Rowe and Schelling 1991: 42). These processes gave a new prominence to ethnicity, history and language.

In Brazil this gave rise to the discourse of Mestizaje (Freyre 1987 [1933]), which attempted to transcend old racial boundaries. The racial mix of the region, no longer a sign of impurity, came to be seen in a positive light, and as a cultural point of reference (Bakewell 2004: 490), operating in contrast to US-style segregation policies (Wade 2004: 335). Mexico underwent a similar process under the Zapatista government (1910-1920). In *The Cosmic Race* (Vasconcelos 1997 [1925]), Mexico's cultural mix was invoked as the basis of a new civilisation. In the case of the Andes, with its large indigenous population, the processes of including indigenous populations into national configurations were tenser. This was related to the colonial legacy of protected indigenous territories, which meant that as late as the end of the nineteenth century, Andean Indians were still holding large portions of land. The hostility of the population against indigenous people, who were perceived to be an impediment to progress and industrialization, delayed the arrival of mestizaje to Bolivia until 1952. The emergence of the mestizaje discourse was accompanied by the 1952 Revolution, as we have seen in Chapter 3.

The uses of popular culture as a means to forge national identities emerged during the eighteenth century in Europe with the birth of 'folklore' (Burke 1994 [1978]). Burke (1994 [1978]) has demonstrated that ideas of the popular' are particularly fertile, and stem from how the folkloric is understood by the upper classes as the 'discovery of the popular knowledge', dating back to the inception of the term 'folklore' into philosophy during the European Enlightment. In the Americas it can be seen to have appeared in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution (Guss 2000: 12) According to Guss (2000), strategies to 'instil faith in the infant state' included making newly important dates coincide with important festivities, and also hosting new commemorations on existing

ritual sites (p. 13). For Gramsci, these imaginaries act as 'instrumental values of thought in the development of culture' (1988 [1916]), in generating ideologies, which are then used to implement domination. This is linked to the idea of the tactical management of ethnic identity (Cohen 2000), and relates to 'hegemonic processes as a means of shaping and controlling nationhood' (Hellier-Tinoco 2011: 35).

It must be recalled that the dances performed at the Oruro Carnival are popularly called 'folkloric', in that they emerge from the repertoire of accepted and recognized expressions of an 'imagined community' called the nation. Thus I want to argue, in agreement with Abercrombie 2003 (although I shall also problematize this postulate in Chapter 5), that the Oruro Carnival has been used in the context of hegemony and the discovery of the popular as vehicle for the forging of new national imaginaries, with the aim of locating a common 'origin' of the community in the distant past.

In the next section, I propose to briefly revisit the history of the event in the twentieth century, in light of the wider historical contexts of each period to illustrate the emergence of Carnival as a folkloric expression of the nation. I shall then offer more interpretation of the most significant transformations, particularly focusing on the 1940s as a period of great consequence.

4.1.1 Carnival over a Century – from margins to centre

As we have observed in Chapter 3, written accounts of oral legends locate the start of the celebration to 1789 inside the mines (Villarroel 1999 [1908]). However, there are links to earlier pre-Hispanic practices, as pointed out by several local researchers (Condarco 1995, 1999, 2007; Beltrán Heredia 1962; 2004, Murillo Vacarreza and Revollo 1999, among others).

Official versions of the parade date it back to 1904 describing primarily a marginal and urban-indigenous (or '*cholo*') parade structured around family and trade social networks. The use of the term 'cholo' is illuminating as to the categorization of ethnicity and race in the highlands. Simply put, it denotes someone who is of indigenous descent but based in an urban setting. Saignes and Bouysse-Cassagne (1992) have pointed out that Andean society is usually described in terms of the 'white/hegemonic' and 'Indian/subaltern' dichotomy, which excludes a key historical protagonist: the Andean cholo, as a figure who is racially and socially 'out of place' in

history and literature (Soruco 2006). Ximena Soruco (2006) has written about the historical roles attributed to the term as a definer of ethnic identities, recognising that contemporary cholos are neither intrinsically Indian, nor a homogenous group. She points to the use of the term to categorise a state of cultural hybridity that is seen to be 'more Indian' and 'backward' than its counter-part, the 'mestizo, who can act as bridge between ancestral culture and claims of territory (2006).

The connection between mestizaje and territory is key in nationalist discourses, as we shall see, whereas issues of trade, urban migration, and access to the market economy shape the assigned identity of the cholo. According to Soruco, the 'cholo' in the twentieth century is a person who has left the countryside and agricultural work in the city. Once in urban centres, they may take up artisan work or work in commerce, and in roles ranging from liberalised manual labour in the majority of cases to middle-sized merchants and wholesalers who use their knowledge over both worlds, the urban and the rural, to accumulate capital (Soruco 2006: 82).

Resting on the above description, and given the composition of carnival dancers at the start of the century, it is possible to affirm that the festivity was a 'cholo' affair rather than an 'Indian' affair at the start of the 1900s and onwards, as aptly pointed out by Abercrombie (1992). However, the few historical references refer to it as an 'Indian affair' (*La Razón,* 18/7/1944).

In the early 20th century, the Carnival parade consisted of small networks of people, such as the mañasos, who worked in an environment of cultural and material exchange between countryside and city based on trade and family links. From my own observations, mañasos still work along these lines, travelling overnight to buy livestock in country fairs, where the sellers are predominantly Aymara or Quechua-speaking rural dwellers, to be sold as meat in city markets via the slaughterhouse. The main organisation behind the GTADO is the Unión Gremial de Matarifes, that is the 'Slaughterhouse Workers Trade Union', which was among the first institutions to be involved with the parade.

Some of the elder mañaso dancers I interviewed described the first Carnivals as people organized into loose dance groups that paraded on Carnival Saturday on the outskirts of the city into the Church of the Mineshaft. It was short, unchoreographed

and a distant call from the spectacular displays of structured dance and uniformed costumes of today (Pedro C., GTADO authority, in interview).

Mirroring the segregation of the population that was still largely in place as the legacy of the colonial 'dual republic' system described in the previous chapter, Carnival was also celebrated differently by Indians and 'the rest' (*La Razón*, 18/7/1944). Thus, it could be argued that the 1940s marked the end of the marginal period of the 'carnaval de indios' in Oruro in two ways: with the introduction of members from the upper classes in the parade, and with the first performance of the devil dance for national authorities (more details on this in the next section)

The Revolutionary nationalism of the 1940s and 50s followed a trend that had emerged from the ideological *indigenismo* of the post-Chaco War period: to conjure up ideas of cultural and social equilibrium by delving into indigenous and popular culture (Klein 2003). The aim of the 1952 Revolution, as noted earlier, was to propel the assimilation of diverse cultures and collectivities into a single identity which could easily become the face of capitalist progress—that of the mestizos. The adoption of the Carnival by the political and social elites in the 1940s indicates a push for the integration of previously excluded citizens, and the adoption of a particular cultural project to accompany the nation-making projects from the 1950s onwards, as we shall see in the next section.

In the subsequent years, as the nation struggled to endorse mestizaje as a unifying identity during an era of great political instability and military intervention – 1960s and 1970s, the Oruro Carnival also became more heavily loaded within nationalist discourse. In 1970 the then president, General Alfredo Ovando (1969-1970), after coming to power through a *coup d'etat* and in true populist style, named Oruro as Folkloric Capital of Bolivia by national decree, raising the profile of the region's main folkloric event, its Carnival parade, to a national level. Specialist institutions were created to safeguard the 'interests' of the dancing troupes, which have since then endorsed the standardisation of many elements of the event, i.e. costumes, dances, customs, as the appropriation of the celebration by the elites became officialised and reached new dimensions. In addition, during this period, religious affiliation became an official requirement for participation, as regulations were drafted to manage the event in a more structured way.

On the other hand, new dances were created in imitation of indigenous cultures. Urban dancers of the newly created Tinku dance, for instance, moved in imitation of the ritualised battles of the rural Highlands Northern Potosí. This marks the emergence of ancestral practices 'as a creative source of innovation' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 3) directed at the consumers of folklore (i.e. the fee paying audience) with the desire to offer them 'something new', according to Armando Y. who founded the *Doctorcitos Itos* troupe in 1981 (in interview). Also of significance was the introduction of women into the festivity by the FACLD, as until the 1970s, only men had been the customary dancers of the festivity.

In the following decades, with the introduction of these new actors, and in the context of neoliberal economics and cultural globalisation of the 1980s and 1990s, money and media entered the scene significantly (Lara Barrientos 2007). Commercial sponsorship deals became players in the look and management of the festivity to increasingly match mediatised ideas of global beauty and spectacle, as women acquired a more central role. This prompted new concerns about the standardisation and look of the dances and uniforms.

During the same period, amidst the surge in social and indigenous movements around Latin America, the indigenous *Anata Andina* parade emerged in 1993 in the same site as the Oruro Carnival parade (Abercrombie 2003). In Chapter 6 I will dedicate a section to the Anata parade, but at this stage I can briefly define its emergence as an attempt to re-launch indigeneity into national discourses at an important site of symbolic nation-making (Abercrombie 2003).

The UNESCO World Heritage Recognition of the Carnival parade in 2001 marked the start of an era of global projection. Since then, the cultural and religious authorities that prepared the bid for the title have become the gate-keepers of its cultural substance, management, and finances; they started to determine the limits of the celebration in accordance with UNESCO's priorities around 'safeguarding the authenticity' of intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, online), as we shall see. This led to a process of 'fossilisation' of certain dances and traditions, which attracted more media attention, particularly in the case of the Devil dance. Consequently, nowadays,

the introduction of a new character into one of the dances[24] or significant changes to a mask, for instance, must be approved by a body of gatekeepers who base their decision on substantial academic research, and approved by a body of experts (Nava, in interview).

The parade I documented during my fieldwork in 2008 showed a globally mediatised parade, heavily commercialised, with stringent monitoring of innovations, and with a strict Catholic focus (despite its deep Andean twist, as exposed in Chapter 3). Whilst officially distancing itself from carnivalesque chaos and excess, I also observed constant tension between what was preached by the authorities and the reality of what was taking place during the parade/carnival, with often-contradictory messages. For instance, during the sermons that the priests gave in the weekly conjunto gatherings, they repeatedly focused on the impropriety of drinking alcohol. Yet, despite these efforts, the main sponsor of the parade is a large beer company, Cerveza Paceña. Beer posters were visible throughout the entire route of the parade.

Although the atmosphere of the event was more carnivalesque than solemn, I noted that the parade is still very much underpinned by deep-rooted ideas of faith and religion, as we shall see in Chapter 5. In addition, despite the financial and religious requirements, participation is massive, and there are now caps to the number of dancers a conjunto can have to try to manage the increasing numbers with each passing year, indicating increasingly control-focused management.

In terms of the actors, anyone who is able to part with the fees to participate, and demonstrate their Catholic faith may become a dancer (Doña Beatriz, GTADO dancer, in interview). I observed that contemporary actors are mostly ethnically mixed (*mestizos*) of urban-descent, which includes many young people, a large number of international performers, and 'cultural tourists'.

This brief historical summary of the festivity throughout the last century shows that the actors have changed from the first trade and kin networks that made up the dance troupes prior to the 1940s. Existing connections to the mine have also almost disappeared: the only existing troupe made up by miners did not participate in 2008,

[24] Most of the eighteen dances performed in the Oruro carnival parade are based on set choreographies and set characters. Appendix C contains a list and brief descriptions of the dances.

and the miners that accompany the religious representatives at the front of the parade go relatively unnoticed. Miners continue to celebrate Carnival in the ways June Nash documented in 1993, but their celebrations today run independently from the parade, underground and in honour of el Tío de la Mina rather than the Virgin of the Mineshaft.

In short, what had been a subaltern, urban-indigenous/cholo phenomenon expanded to become a mainstream popular event, which was then appropriated by the non-indigenous elites and regional representatives of Catholicism. These developments reinforce the view promoted by cultural authorities that Carnival is representative of the nation's Catholic mestizo heritage.

To follow, I propose to explore in more detail an important period in the trajectory of Carnival, the 1940s and 1950s, to look at the connection between official cultural projects and festive memory as a result of the intervention of national populism.

4.2 Nationalist Populism and the Festive

Hall (2008) has discussed the use of notions of cultural heritage to emphasize the preservation of existing expressions in the national framework of management practices, making heritage become a type of archive for the Nation (p. 219). This archive includes the State's viewpoint, and that of elite groups who control or manage the State and other cultural, financial, and political institutions. Appadurai (2008) observed that issues of social representation and visibility emerge in nationalist discourses as a result of glossing over of differences to be an unavoidable part of the processes of standardisation, as the significantly different historical trajectories of its actors are invariably homogenised. The importance of Carnival in the projection of national discourses since the 1940s becomes evident when looking at the development of cultural heritage discourses around the parade.

Nationalist Populism is the political ideology that was implemented after the 1952 Revolution in Bolivia (Klein 2003), and it marked the start of managed uses of popular culture, which engulfed the Carnival parade from then on.

Politically, it had developed across the previous two decades as a response to political and military crisis of the Chaco War defeat (1932-1936), and a sense of shared realization that the transformation of the political and social structures of the nation,

which had undergone little transformation since colonial times, was due. National Populism gained legitimacy through the redistribution of resources and nationalist reforms: the re-appropriation of resources from foreign hands, social reforms, and the championing of national culture which extended to popular expressions previously in the hands of the lower classes (Williamson 1992). Economically, it focused on the regrouping of national resources to meet the infra-structural and logistic demands of Import Substitution Industrialisation (Williamson 1992). Ideologically, the main concern of this process was unification of citizens under the concept of the nation. However, as we shall see, the Euro-centric bias of the National Populism of the 1940s and 1950s (Zavaleta Mercado 1987) had a profound effect on the processes of reconfiguration of the festivity during this period.

4.2.1 1940s: Reinventions of the Festive

This is a key period for understanding the subsequent institutionalisation of Carnival and its developments into cultural spectacle and national memory, as it marked the 'preamble of the official recognition of the carnival at state-level' (Lara B. 2007: 47).

In the Latin America of the 1940s and 1950s, the processes of national reconfiguration that were taking place had many parallels with the birth of independent Latin American nations of the Republican period in the nineteenth century (Williamson 1992). There was a similar push to produce new and unifying symbols and traditions to inculcate values and practices which implied continuities with a shared past (Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1994 [1983]).

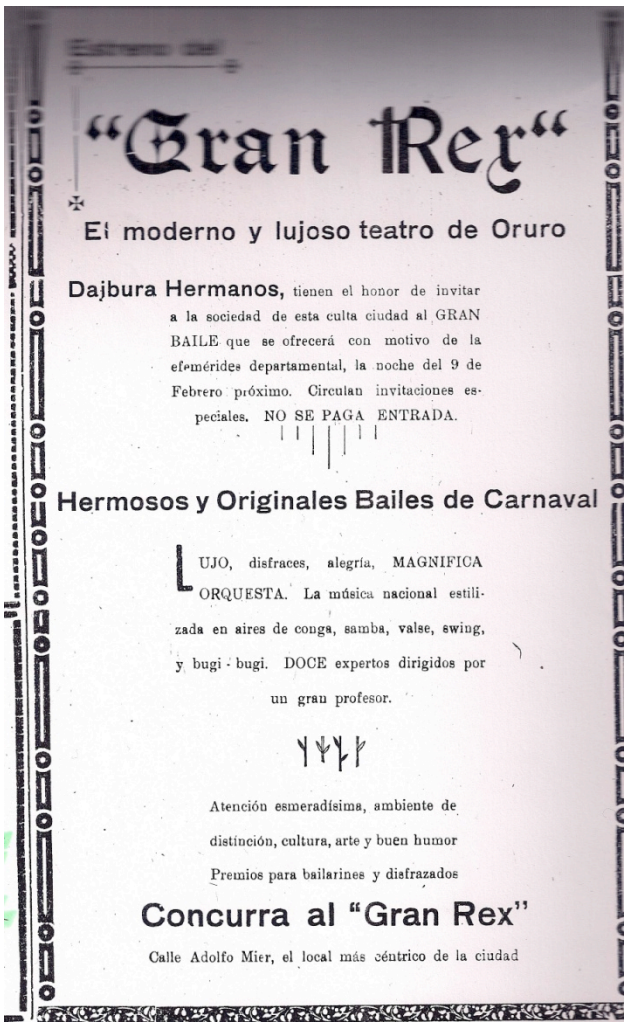
In my view, it was the need for events and practices that could be fed into emerging national imaginaries that acted as preamble for the introduction of the Devil dance of the mañasos to the country's authorities.

It was during this period when the Diablada de los Mañasos, as it was known then, was formally invited by General Villarroel (president of a military junta in Bolivia 1943-46), to do a public demonstration at the La Paz Stadium. According to Pedro C., whose father participated in the performance, it was the first time the political elite of the country had taken an interest in the Diablada. It is significant that during the same period, in political terms, Villarroel had achieved the leadership of the nation by

leading a coup d'etat against President Enrique Peñaranda (1940-43) with a coalition between the military and a civil group that included the MNR, the party that went onto to lead the cultural and political transformations of the nation after 1952 Revolution. Thus, I would suggest, the sudden interest by the political elite in the diablada must be read against the context of the recent 'discovery' of the Indian by the upper and middle classes after the Chaco War under *indigenismo*, and the populist attempts of the political elites (under the leadership of the MNR) to establish political allies among indigenous and mining leaders (Klein 2003: 202).

Indigenismo emerged as a response to other Latin American attempts to incorporate indigenous expressions into the ways of the nation, such as those attempted by Juán Perón in Argentina (1946-55), and Lázaro Cárdenas in México (1934–1940). This explains why it was now acceptable for the elites to appreciate the love stories that crossed racial and social boundaries (unthinkable ten years earlier) that were a literary phenomenon of indigenismo (Medinaceli 1947).

It is important to highlight at this point, that prior to the 1940s, the diablada (like many other indigenous/cholo cultural expressions) had been practically invisible to non-participants. Abercrombie (1992) describes that there had been two Carnivals, one for the elite in ballrooms (see press cutting of elite Carnival in the 1940s in **Figure 7**) and one for the popular classes, enacted in the streets rather than in front of a formal audience.



"Gran Rex"

El moderno y lujoso teatro de Oruro

Dajbura Hermanos, tienen el honor de invitar a la sociedad de esta culta ciudad al GRAN BAILE que se ofrecerá con motivo de la efemérides departamental, la noche del 9 de Febrero próximo. Circulan invitaciones especiales. NO SE PAGA ENTRADA.

Hermosos y Originales Bailes de Carnaval

LUJO, disfraces, alegría, MAGNIFICA ORQUESTA. La música nacional estilizada en aires de conga, samba, valse, swing, y bugi - bugi. DOCE expertos dirigidos por un gran profesor.

Atención esmeradísima, ambiente de distinción, cultura, arte y buen humor

Premios para bailarines y disfrazados

Concurra al "Gran Rex"

Calle Adolfo Mier, el local más céntrico de la ciudad

Figure 7. *La Razón* newspaper ad for elite celebration in 1940s (La Razón 1945)

However, there had been precedents for the sudden interest from the political elites in the Devil dance. In the early 1940s, a group of elite youths had started to take part in the 'indian' Carnival, prompting surprise and interest among their social circles towards the festivity (Araoz 2003). The new presence of the *pijes*, as they were called (meaning *well-dressed*), alongside the cultural and political transformations of the period brought radical changes to the way the Diablada was performed and, organised, which in turn raised the status of the event.

As a new social group started to take part, other people from their social circles joined in as participants in the festivity for the first time, breaking the racial and social boundaries of the festivity in the city.

At a different level, the La Paz performance had marked a new way of performing the dances. It had been the first time that the format of the Diablada had been adjusted to fit inside a 'stage' (the largest stadium in the country) and before a paying audience. These new factors prompted the diablada organisers to adapt the nature of

the performance in order to meet the demands of a new audience and setting, according to Pedro C. (grandson of a founding member of the GTADO).

This episode was a defining one, which marked the division and development of the first dancing troupe, and the evolution of Carnival dancing troupes as a whole. On returning to Oruro after the La Paz performance, the 'pijes' decided to separate themselves from the Diablada de los Mañasos and consolidate their own conjunto (Beltrán Heredia 2004), taking the mañaso choreographer with them. They called themselves the Sociedad Artística y Cultural "La Diablada" (*La Razón* 18/7/1944). According to Beltrán Heredia, out of the split not just one but two new groups were immediately born, the Conjunto Tradicional Folklórico Diablda Oruro (CTFDO), and the Fraternidad Artística y Cultural "La Diablada" (FACLD). Soon after, as the mañaso choreographer returned to the old Diablada de los mañasos, they adopted the name of Gran Tradicional y Auténtica Diablada "Oruro" (GTADO). By 1961, two more groups had formed: the Diablada Ferroviaria and the Diablada Artística "Urus" were formed in 1956 and 1961, respectively, also by ex-members of some of the first two Diabladas of the split (Beltrán Heredia 2004).

Thus, in a matter of few years, the Diablada troupes had multiplied fivefold, incorporating new organizational and performative traits, and people from more diverse social backgrounds. This marked indeed a culturally fertile period for Carnival culture in Oruro, which led in turn to the emergence of a new popular urban genre of dance: the 'folkloric' troupe, which we shall look at in more detail in Chapter 5.

The fertility of the period can also be linked to nationalist processes. The production of the national, according to Appadurai, is imbued in the need to configure the 'economy of forgetting and remembering', and in the production of locality through the construction of new discourses about the past (Appadurai 2008: 210). Festive practices in Oruro were undergoing new cultural processes that attempted to modernise and replace defunct structures, selecting from among past elements and actors, and mirroring to an extent the political and cultural reconfiguration of the nation taking place during the same period. Significantly, these processes of selection impact on the visibility of the constitutive elements of the random set of experiences we call history (Hall 2008), as the following example will illustrate.

Pedro C. recalled how after the split, the new Diablada conjunto formed by the elites, the FACLD, had 'taken' the choreographer of the 'Diablada de los matarifes', in order to train new dancers and to prepare new choreographic displays for the newly formed conjunto. Since the La Paz performance to the nation (in July 1944), the Diablada had become a popular dance to watch and new public performances of the dance were programmed. According to Pedro C, the FACLD soon started to travel and showcase the dance around Bolivia and then abroad, exposing new audiences to the Diablada, which was rapidly on its way to becoming a new national Bolivian 'tradition'.

However, these developments implied a re-arrangement of the past according to Pedro, which (I would add) demonstrate to what extent traditions are constructed and subject to selective processes in the framework of the birth of 'new' traditions. Pedro C. recalled how even though a mañaso (his grandfather) been a founding member of the FACLD as the first choreographer of the institution, his father's presence in the institution had been 'erased':

> 'My father was one of the founders of the Fraternidad, but … as a result of racial and social discrimination in the Fraternidad, which had middle class people, [my father] was erased from their Foundation Certificate. He isn't even mentioned as the first Angel [the institution's main choreographer] […] My father was the first Angel of the Fraternidad, but he is not mentioned in the records.' (Pedro C., in interview)[25]

Linda Tuhiwai Smith observed that there are 'numerous oral stories' among indigenous peoples that narrate the feeling of being present and having one's history deleted 'before your eyes, dismissed as irrelevant, ignored or rendered as the lunatic ravings of drunken old people' (1999: 29). She describes it in terms of a 'negation of indigenous views' (1999: 29). For Pedro C. the erasure of his dad's contribution from the official foundation documents of the FALCD is the result of racial and social discrimination, which are experiences mostly shared by rural and urban indigenous groups in Bolivia. Along the same lines, Abercrombie pointed to the marginalisation of cholos from participating in the 'the patriotic and devotional core of the spectacle',

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[25] 'Mi papá llega a ser fundador de la Fraternidad, pero … debido a la discriminación racial, social …en la Fraternidad, [en la] que hay en gente de la clase media, [lo] borran de su acta de fundación. Ni siquiera lo mencionan a mi papá como primer angel […] mi papa fue primer ángel de la Fraternidad, pero no aparece en su historial.'

whilst the Indigenista elites join in the Carnival dressed as devils and pageant cholitas meaning that their vision of carnival participation as a 'unifying tradition within which a national identity might be staged has become generalised' (2003: 203). I shall develop the relationship between exclusion and the politics of representation in Chapter 6.

The FACLD has since its emergence in the 1940s become a referent to the best attributes of Carnival, as exposed in this account of the institution:

> The Fraternidad Artística de Oruro [FACLD] is the symbol of the Devil dance, it is part of a story that has already exceeded one hundred years and is arguably the highest representative of the dance and costume around the globe... The Frater, as well call it affectionately, is most significant symbolic vein of tradition in Oruro. (website www.ladiabladadeoruro.com)[26]

At the same time, the admiration of Devil dance has also increased throughout the century. In the most recent official broadcast of the Carnival, live from Oruro (on March 5, 2011, *Unitel*), the presenter described the Diablada as the 'essence of Carnival in Oruro', which reflects the widespread view that the Devil dance is the expression that symbolizes the carnival. These two claims: that the Diablada represents Oruro, and that the FACLD is the best representative of the dance are constantly projected from Oruro. They are part of a single nationalist discourse that attempts to integrate all Bolivians under a national ideal using the showcase of national spectacle provided by the festivity. The emergence of the 'elite' Devil troupe members as the representatives of the dance nationally and abroad, in my view, demonstrates that the choice of local popular cultural expressions that become national patrimony is by no means uninformed or random (Guss 2000). Instead, these performances are the result of processes of power relations, responding to a desire to show particular versions of the present and past (see also Williams 1977).

Key to this discussion is the idea that nation-states require 'signatures of the visible' (Appadurai 2008: 215). In the case of Oruro, it becomes clear that the wider cultural, social and political context of the 1940s and 1950s reconfigured the

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[26] 'La Fraternidad Artística de Oruro [FACLD] es el símbolo de la Diablada, es parte de una historia que ya superó cien años y es sin duda el representante máximo de la danza y su vestimenta en todo el globo terráqueo… La Frater como así la llamamos de corazón es la vena simbólica más significativa de la tradición orureña.'

framework of power relations, these –in turn—shaped the processes of selection of those practices and actors which entered national discourses, and which remained outside of these. In the example of the 'deleted' choreographer, the visibility of the mañasos as a social group has been compromised on the basis of existing racial hierarchies. The matter of visibility, which will also be further developed in Chapter 6, becomes central when we discuss the issue of the management of the past via heritage discourses later on.

In this section, we focused on processes of 'forgetting' in the construction of national narratives. This will be discussed in greater detail in later sections. In the next section, I shall trace the development of what later came to be the official discourses of representation. In addition to the above, I will also explore how festive practices reflected on the transmission of national memory via the practices of 'remembering'.

4.3 Mestizo-Catholic Legacies

Lara B. (2007) has demonstrated that there is an official discourse of the Oruro Carnival that is elaborated and sustained by an established order, through regulations, press, educational events, and books. Based on what has already been exposed in the previous section, this discourse appears to be embedded in the processes of the 1940s and the discovery of the popular by the upper and middle classes (Lara B. 2007: 57).

Here, my definition of 'official' refers, to assertions about the Carnival that widely accepted as authoritative (i.e. from an authority or an 'expert'). The authorities in Oruro are the political, religious, economic and cultural institutions and individuals who engage in decision-making processes that affect the majority of the population in the city. These include the Tourism/Heritage and Cultural Officers at the Mayor's Office, the *Asociación de Conjuntos Folklóricos de Oruro* or ACFO (as the organization that yearly runs the parade), the *Comité de Etnografía y Folklore* (CEF), the religious representatives at the Temple of the Mineshaft, and the scholars and intellectuals whose research and published work about the Carnival are regarded as 'authoritative'.[27]

[27] There is a vast array of research literature about the festivity and connected expressions produced by local authors, the most representative authors are Condarco (1995, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2005 and 2007); Revollo (1999, 2003); Murillo V. (1999); Beltrán Heredia (2004,

Oruro Anthropologists Lara B. (2007) and Araoz (2003) have identified two strands of interpretation for the festivity that are constantly projected in official discourses: the parade as an expression of Christian-Catholic devotion, and as a folkloric display as the framework for the transmission of national traditions

Firstly, let us deal with the first claim, that the Oruro Carnival is a display of Catholicism. In the recent celebration of Oruro's 200-year anniversary, a special Carnival-themed event was organised by cultural authorities in Oruro, and was attended by political and diplomatic dignitaries. A press article covering the event, described the participation of Oruro's most senior Church representative:

> 'Bishop Cristóbal Bialasik joined the presentation of the Carnival, where he pointed out that this is the only festivity that has a religious devotional matrix and that this is the presentation tag of Orureños, "this Carnival started precisely in devotion to the [Virgin] of the Mineshaft]'. (*La Patria* 29-09-10, my translation)[28]

Thus, the link between the identity of the region and the religious identity of the festivity is what is constantly professed.

This view is corroborated in the documentation produced as part of the bid to win UNESCO's recognition. The documents to enter the Oruro Carnival into the competition to win the status of Masterpiece of World Intangible Heritage was prepared by a selected group of cultural authorities, and has since it has become instrumental in Oruro's 'regimes of truth', in Foucauldian terms (Foucault 1980b).

Projections of a national narrative operate under the discursive management of heritage, as observed by Hall (2008). These 'authoritative' interpretations of the event, I would argue, are the product of a discursive approach to representation (Hall 1997b), which seeks to render the past as univocal. In the next section, I shall analyse these discursive forces via three particular perspectives:

1962); Boero Rojo (1993a, b & c); Zaconeta (1925); and Fortún (1961). Among the more contemporary works are Romero et al. (2003), and Lara B. (2003, 2007).

[28] 'El obispo Cristóbal Bialasik se adhirió al acto de presentación del Carnaval, señalando que esta es la única fiesta que cuenta con matiz devocional religioso y que ésta es la etiqueta de presentación de los orureños, "este Carnaval comenzó justamente en devoción a la Mamita del Socavón", manifestó.'

- The institutional management of memory into the discourse of heritage via UNESCO
- The use of myths to create authoritative interpretations of the symbolic capital of the festive in Oruro
- The Christianisation of Andean symbols as a source of symbolic capital

4.3.1 Institutions and the Management of Memory

I have already established, borrowing from Hall (1999), the connection between nation-making processes and the emergence of national systems of representation. In my view, this serves to explain the concern that authorities show to emphasise the transmissive role of the Oruro Carnival when it comes to establishing the authenticity of the event.

From my own observation, cultural and Carnival authorities constantly strived to emphasise the need to preserve the 'authentic' and 'original' content of the Carnival when liaising with an international audience consisting of tourists, international media, foreign dignitaries, guests, and UNESCO officers. The day after the parade in 2008, newspapers were filled with articles depicting interviews with these international guests offering their views of the festivity. The main headline on the first page of La Patria on Monday February 4 2008 read: '*Turistas de Inglaterra, Venezuela, Estados Unidos y otros certifican "Carnaval de Oruro es fantástico y tiene mucha belleza"'* ('Tourists from England, Venezuela, USA, and Others Certify: "The Oruro Carnival is Fantastic and Beautiful"'). The article begins in the following way:

> 'Tourists from different countries deem the Carnival to be fantastic, wonderful and very beautiful. It is different from other festivities in the world, and that is why it has been recognized as Masterpiece of World Intangible Heritage' (*La Patria* 04-02-08, my translation)[29]

Inside, the newspaper included several reports, with headlines such as:

> *'Panamenian Press Impressed with Carnival'*
>
> *'Brazilian Ivan Silva Sergazo: "I Have Never Seen Anything like the Oruro Carnival"'*

[29] Los turistas de distintas partes del mundo certificaron que el Carnaval de Oruro es fantástico, maravilloso, y con mucha belleza, es algo distinto a las otras fiestas que ocurren en el mundo y por eso se le ha reconocido como Obra Maestra del Patrimonio Oral e Intangible de la Humanidad.

'Chileans Dazzled by Magic of Oruro Carnival'

There is a constant effort to gain acceptance through recording and publishing the positive testimonials of non-Orureños. In my view this is also related to a need to constantly highlight the recognition that the event has achieved since being moved from the periphery in the side streets of Oruro into the centre since 1944 and to highlight the 'unique' character of the festivity, done for the purposes of legitimizing the selective processes of heritage practices.

The festivity is often quoted as being the only Carnival in the world to be a religious festivity, as sustained by Beltrán Heredia (1962: 10). The Church makes constant references to the legends of Nina-nina and Chiru-chiru as evidence that the focus of the event ought to be Catholic devotion. This uniqueness is attributed to the particular cultural composition of the nation, as per the following extract from the UNESCO bid:

> Carnival in Oruro evolves as a result of society in time and space, generating a process of cohabitation among cultures (my translation). (ACFO 2000: 8, emphasis in the original)[30]

Globally, the institutional insertion into UNESCO, the world's highest authority in terms of the relationships among civilizations, cultures, education, science and communication, has also raised the 'unique' character of the Carnival to a level of universal recognition. The implication is that, now, the responsibility of safeguarding the cultural integrity of the expression concerns outsiders ('experts' and institutions) as well as insiders, to the point that the makers of the celebration have now less of a say in the feel and look of the event, than cultural authorities and gate-keepers of tradition. This is illustrated in how conjunto leaders have to present historical research to justify any innovation to the choreography or characters of their dance style (Jorge P., FACLD dancer; Dario A., GTADO authority), which I will discuss further in Chapter 6.

Since the 2001 UNESCO Declaration, the role of UNESCO and the institutions that were instrumental in the coordination of the bid has become central to the festivity in terms of raising its profile and dictating the guidelines for its development. The aims of

[30] 'El Carnaval de Oruro se desarrolla en función de la relación de lo social en el tiempo y en el espacio, generando un proceso de convivencia entre culturas.

the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* are, according to their official documents, to establish what constitutes World Intangible Cultural Heritage from the myriad of cultural expressions around the globe, and to safeguard those expressions. There is first a process of selection based on their criteria of 'intangible heritage' means, and once the recognition has been awarded, there is a series of programmes for the documentation, promotion and preservation the expression with the institutional (financial and other) support of UNESCO.

UNESCO's criteria for defining 'intangible heritage' is problematic, according to Ashworth et al (2007: 34), for it relies on its opposite: tangible heritage. The issue here is that the distinction between the two realms is not always clear-cut, and the connotations of 'the tangible' and 'the intangible' can be culturally sensitive. Ashworth et al (2007) have identified two other sets of problems or 'dissonances' intrinsic to the notion of heritage. First, that invariably sites of cultural heritage become 'landscapes of tourist consumption', they are both a people's 'sacred place' as an event to be 'multi-sold' and 'multi-interpreted' by insiders and outsiders (p. 37). Secondly, say the authors, there is the paradox that heritage belongs to all in principle, but in reality it 'disinherits' those who do not subscribe to it (p. 37).

In order to be awarded with the status of Masterpiece of Intangible Heritage, entries were judged according to which event best met their relevance in respect to UNESCO's criteria. One of the criteria included demonstrating the roots of the event 'in the cultural tradition or cultural history of the community concerned' (UNESCO, online), also entries had to prove that the event reproduces cultural identity and reinforces a communal bond amongst its 'members', and on the other hand promotes intercultural exchange among the peoples concerned. In other words, it was necessary to demonstrate how belonging and community are embodied in the cultural expression in question, and how these are reaffirmed for the people involved by taking part.

The following excerpt taken from the UNESCO bid illustrates how UNESCO's criteria was both interpreted and met by the cultural authorities:

> The Oruro Carnival is a cultural process characterised by a high degree of interculturality and intangibility that dates back over 2000

> years. This takes place in a cultural space that obeys cultural cumulative and selective processes (ACFO 2000: 6, my translation).[31]

The prominence, here, is placed on the accumulative powers of the celebration, a capacity to engage with the different historical trajectories of its actors, and its ability to reproduce their diverse symbols, customs, and values. However, ideas of selection are also explicit. This premise seems to be confirmed when later in the same document, it is stated that the carnival has come to acquire an 'urban Catholic' focus, from 'the upper layers of society' that has now become 'a phenomenon of universal integration' (ACFO 2000: 6). It also indicates that the event has changed throughout the passing of time. This shows an internal contradiction: how did its all-encompassing representativity come to focus on a single brand of religiosity dictated by an elite group? For Ashworth et al (2007), this 'dissonant' condition is an intrinsic ingredient of heritage discourses, linked to the same principles that dictate the idea of the nation to be homogenous and bounded (2007: 37). It is both 'all-encompassing' but the selection of the symbols for its representation is guided by individual interests.

Thus an essentialised sense of a Bolivian subjectivity begins to emerge from the document, based on a shared legacy of inter-cultural memories that evolved into Catholic-mestizaje. This notion could be seen to match the view put forward by scholars of mestizaje in the Andes (Larson 2007, 1999; de la Cadena 2007, 2000), that whilst the ideology of mestizaje claims to include 'all the voices' of the past, some 'speak' louder than others.

4.3.2 The Mestizo Voice

Ideologies of race and mestizaje are an important force in official discourses about the festive, given official claims that the event is a mestizo expression. However, to understand the implications more fully, mestizaje needs to be examined against the backdrop of race in the Andes.

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[31] El Carnaval de Oruro, es un proceso cultural que se caracteriza por un alto grado de interculturalidad e intangibilidad que rebasa los 2000 años, [que] se realiza en un espacio cultural que obedece a procesos de acumulación y selección de manifestaciones culturales.

'Mestizo' was initially a fiscal colonial category (marking mixed Spanish and Indian descent) created to expand the limits of the dual republic system (Harris 1995, Schwartz and Salomon 1999). Mestizos belonged to the Spanish republic during the early colonial era; thus they were exempt from Indian tribute, but were also devoid of any political power. More importantly, to gain their fiscal status, they had to establish a distance between themselves and Indian villages and practices (Harris 1995).

Up to the end of the nineteenth century, the dual republic was largely still in place. The events that followed set the precedence for the mestizo projects of the twentieth century. In the 1880s, indigenous communities lost their collective land tenure and many were forced to sell their lands (Klein 2003: 147). Larson observed that this setting forced Indian migration into the cities in unprecedented levels, as Indians had lost their cultural space and means of livelihood in the countryside. Once settled, indigenous peoples sought access to education and instruction. Unaccustomed to the idea of an instructed Indian, the elites saw the invasion of literate Indians into the city as troublesome. They had become impure and semi-literate cholos, whereas the rural Indian emerged as synonymous of purity, submissiveness and usefulness. From the perspective of Larson (2007), early twentieth century attempts to integrate indigenous peoples were underpinned by the notion that the only Indian worth incorporating was the 'telluric and utilitarian' Indian (Larson 2007: 143), the epitome of the *indio permitido*, or 'permitted Indian', described by Hale (2004). In the next section we will explore this notion further.

The mestizaje of the twentieth century in Latin America focused on culture rather than biology. This poses a significant change to the mestizaje discourses of the nineteenth century which focused more closely on the body and scientific racial engineering (Larson 1999). In the 1940s and 1950s in the Andes, the ideology of mestizaje attempted to incorporate indigenous peoples into the mass of national citizens.

The emergence of the mestizo identity of the 1952 Revolution coincides with the time when the Carnival was undergoing its most significant transformations. The Devil dance had split in 1944, prompting the creation of newer conjuntos and the incorporation of new social actors. The upper and middle classes of Oruro had recently immersed themselves in Carnival dancing, were moved by a movement of the

'discovery of the popular' (as in Burke 1994 [1978]) called *indigenismo*. This was an artistic and cultural trend that supported the idea of regeneration of a national identity by the incorporation of indigenous traditions (Morales 2010: 20). In the second half of the twentieth century, the promotion of the mestizo identity became the cultural project of National Populism of the 1950s, which had started as a regional trend in Mexico with the 1910's Zapatista Revolution. In Bolivia, it projected an identity that was both homogenous and syncretic, and embedded in the nationalist project of inscribing all the country's inhabitants, irrespective of their ethnicity, into citizenship (Barragán 2006: 127).

However, intellectuals and indigenous people produced a critique of mestizaje and indigenismo at the time. Mariátegui (1971 [1928]) criticised indigenismo's push to romanticise and idealise the Indian. Bonfil Batalla (1990) argued that despite its integrationist discourses, mestizaje in and indigenismo in Mexico's 1930s remained in the binary between Indian/non-Indian.

In Bolivia, the assimilationist project of the 1952 Revolution grew resentment against the State when it became obvious to indigenous populations that they continued to be dominated or 'co-opted at best' (Canessa 2000: 122). School education, an instrument that was meant to increase the intellectual capital of the population as a whole, had emerged as a strategy to incorporate indigenous people into the dominant ideologies instead of the Church (Canessa 2000: 122). As the 'indio' was replaced by the '*campesino*' (peasant), the process was by accompanied by the destructuration of an indigenous identity into parts, some of which were selected to be included in the imaginary of a national identity, whilst others discarded.

The new 'campesino' category, created under the powers of the state to 'name and organize' served to gloss over differences in ethnic traditions shaped by geographically, historically and culturally given contexts (Wade 2004), and to neutralize any subversion in political and cultural terms (Barragán 2000: 145). Far from the idea of cultural hybridity whereby the European and the indigenous both find a space to reproduce, it had become clear that citizenship – the main promise of becoming a mestizo – implied 'distancing oneself from the Indian social condition and thus de-Indianising' (De la Cadena 2000: 316).

In the end, it became clear that the aim of the assimilation of the Indian was a way to organize the national space for the 'exercise of power' (Barragán 2000: 145). Implicit in discourses of mestizaje is what De la Cadena terms the traits of 'racial/cultural fundamentalism' (De la Cadena 2000: 314), whereby the Indian appears as essentially illiterate, subordinate, prone to savagery and adverse to modernisation. Thus, the cultural project that was meant to socially include Indians finished by excluding them as it became clear that epistemologically, the two groups were looking at a different horizon: one nationalist, Eurocentric, and modern; the other also interested in the idea of 'progress' but more local, more subjectively Andean (Larson 1999).

The Mestizaje promoted in Carnival discourses, tied to Eurocentric ideas about nation-building, presents itself as a possible but inadequate way to understand the post-colonial condition of the populations of the Andes (Sanjinés 2002: 57). Yet, it has been absorbed by official discourses of national identity.

The managers of the Oruro Carnival have also adopted mestizaje to theorise the multivocality of the festivity. From the point of view of the authorities and those managing the festivity, the multivocality of Carnival and its historical contributors have been all channelled into the voice of the mestizo. The ex-president of the ACFO, Ascanio Nava, wrote of the Oruro Carnival:

> This sacred time and space, where many cultures converge in peace and tolerance, provides a platform for a number of economic, social, religious and cultural possibilities, which emerge from the vast energy it produces (Nava 2004: 80).[32]

Officially, this is the promise of the mestizo discourse pushed forward by the 1952 Revolution: peace, tolerance, economic and cultural development for all involved. The cost of the adoption of this new mestizo imaginary for the attachment of national consciousness, documented by historians of the region (Klein 2003, Bautista 2010, also Larson 1999), was the neglect of indigenous histories and collective identities in the construction of a national project, as processes of self-definition were led by a largely

[32] 'Este espacio y tiempo sagrados, donde convergen muchas culturasy conviven en paz y tolerancia, es escenario para muchas posibilidades económicas, sociales, religiosas y culturales que son generadas por su gran energía.'

Western-oriented and urban elite who did not understand indigenous experiences. Instead, an appropriation of selected elements of indigenous culture and indigenous spaces occurred through the practice of folklore, projecting selected, sanitised and simplified images of the 'Indian', which survive until today, that do not convey the legacy of discrimination, theft, and extermination suffered by indigenous peoples for centuries as a result of colonialism.

4.3.3 The Discourse of Heritage

The terms 'heritage' (*patrimonio*), 'intangible cultural legacy' (*patrimonio intangible de la humanidad*), and 'masterpiece' (*obra maestra del patrimonio intangible de la humanidad*) are the terminology most commonly used by authorities and in newspapers when referring to Carnival in Oruro since the inscription of the event in the UNESCO list of World Intangible Cultural Heritage (2001).

The notion of 'cultural heritage' has numerous ramifications, involving entire communities, their memories, and the transmission of knowledge and values. Heritage scholars have long grappled with these ideas, looking at heritage practices and the disciplines dedicated to studying them: archaeology, museumology, folklore, etc. in an attempt to define a commonality between these practices. Popular ideas of heritage conjure up visions of monuments, cultural ruins, or even museum pieces, but heritage academics, such as Laurajane Smith, have highlighted that heritage is part of much more subtle yet powerfully persuasive identity-making processes.

She says,

> Heritage is about negotiation – about using the past, and collective or individual memories, to negotiate new ways of being and expressing identity (Smith 2006:4).

She has suggested that in its primarily communicative and representative role, the praxis of heritage involves the formation of transmissions and continuities, whereby some objects, places or institutions (such as museums) become facilitating cultural tools 'but do not themselves stand in for this process or act' (Smith 2006: 4). For Harrison (2008) heritage deals –like folklore—with privileged views of the past, for the purposes of the creation of community, be it at local, regional or even at national level (in Fairclough et al 2008). It is through this link between heritage as a discursive practice and its role in constructing for 'a sort of collective social memory' for the

nation (Hall 2008: 22), through which we can understand the role of cultural authorities in pushing the nationalist character of the event to the vanguard.

The ACFO strives to maintain its reputation as a body/institution that is known for placing Bolivian cultural heritage to the forefront. Its *Reglamento* (ACFO 2008: 8) states that

> It is the inescapable duty of every dancer to visibly display the national flag on their costumes, so as to make the legitimacy of Bolivian folklore stand out for (all) the world to see, both during the first and last Convites [public rehearsals], and during the Saturday pilgrimage and Sunday Carnival parade (ACFO 2008, 'Capítulo VIII: De los danzarines', my translation).[33]

This obligation for dancers to wear the symbols of the nation on their costume is clearly a response to the awareness that the media will be capturing the event, and the need to make it clear to those watching/listening that what is taking place in front of the cameras is a representation of Bolivianness.

I would suggest that the establishment of a link between nationalist constructions and the management of the past is encouraged by UNESCO's discourse of cultural heritage as representative of the embodiment of both community and memory. Article 2 of the UNESCO proclamation describes intangible cultural heritage as 'transmitted from generation to generation' and emerging as a community's 'response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, [which] provides them with a sense of identity and continuity' (UNESCO, online), which largely corresponds to the idea of heritage as a discourse and as one of the ways 'in which the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory' (Hall 2008: 221).

Beyond the idea of heritage as linking memory to locality, UNESCO's other requirement is that the cultural expression or tradition must be seen to be in risk of 'disappearing due either to the lack of means for safeguarding and protecting it or to processes of rapid change, urbanization, or to acculturation' (UNESCO, online). In

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[33] 'Es obligación ineludible de todo danzarín portar en su vestimenta y en forma visible la Bandera Nacional, para identificar ante el mundo la legitimidad del Folklore Boliviano, tanto el Primer y Último convite, así como el Sábado de Peregrinación y Domingo de Carnaval.'

other words, the expression in question must be in danger of cultural extinction. The focus on 'threats to cultural heritage' is central to UNESCO's concerns about the 'intangibility' of certain practices, hence the constant references to preservation and safeguarding certain practices in relation to other cultural expressions around the world.

This may be related to the history of the organization as a whole, which emerged after World War One, in an attempt to rebuild sites of historic value which had been destroyed by bombs and warfare: under the perspective that their loss concerned not just the affected nations, but humanity as a whole. This reasoning is based on the idea of a 'shared historical identity' (Byrne 2008: 234). Byrne (2008) gives evidence that these ideas of a historical identity shared by all humanity emerged from the discipline of archaeology and its focus on non-renewable sources, and were transferred without much alteration as a set of values to the management of cultural heritage; this may explain why their adaptability to the changing nature of culture proves at times limited. As a result, there is a constant tension between 'preserving' a tradition and allowing it to 'evolve' of its own accord, related to the concept of heritage as 'non-renewable'.

This tension is reflected in Oruro in the constant attempts to attach Carnival to a definite point of origin that would give the festivity linearity and direction, which can be easily accounted for in safeguarding programmes designed to prevent external 'distortions' or 'transgressions'. In the case of Oruro these ideas of cultural purity have brought along what heritage scholar Tunbridge has called 'the fossilised, national and homogenous uses of heritage' (Tunbridge 2008: 187).

In 2011, for the commemoration of the tenth year of the UNESCO award, there was a lot of coverage in the press, which reflected on the significance of this proclamation and on the importance of safeguarding the traditions that make up the Oruro Carnival. In *La Patria*, Oruro's main newspaper, an editorial entry for May 18, 2011 stated that the international recognition that this award has brought to Bolivia was not the result of those who prepared the bid, but the result of the accumulated history of the city:

> Achieving the carnival this title did not happen by coincidence or through the good faith of the jury. The recognition is the result of a

> process that goes back two centuries, after the emergence of the cult of the Virgin of the Mineshaft in 1789, when the miners decided to dress as devils and dance in her honour after the legendary miracles of the Nina-Nina and Chiru-Chiru. (*La Patria* 18 May 2011, my translation)[34]

Thus, the city and the Carnival are embedded in the same system of representations, becoming almost synonyms of each other. Since the affiliation with UNESCO, attempts to historically locate a chronology running from the mythical past through to its contemporary rendition of the event have increased in the production of educational seminars and debates, to try to fix the continuity gaps in official history. To do this, narratives of the past borrow from oral and mythical literature, as I shall show in the next section.

4.3.4 The Adoption of Myths by Official Discourses

In chapter 3 we described three myths, which are constantly alluded to in the festivity. Here we shall explore how myths help support the authorities' interpretations of the symbolic wealth of the festivity.

We know from Hall (2008) that the nation is also an ongoing, continuous project – a 'storying'. Hall asserts that 'we come to know its meaning partly *through* the objects and artefacts which have been made to stand for and symbolise its essential values' (Hall 2008: 220). These processes of identification through representation produce national subjects via the symbols – objects, sites and events – which stand for the nation and its most essential values. We, the people, become identified with its dominant meanings, because they belong to 'regimes of truth', that produce the types of discourses that society accepts as 'true' (Foucault 1977).

According to the document prepared for the UNESCO bid by the ACFO, the oral narratives make it possible to identify key points of the carnival's development. The first period, goes from 1606 – with the foundation of Oruro and also the period covered in the Nina-nina legend – to 1789 – the date that marks the start of the

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[34] 'Lograr ese título para el Carnaval de Oruro, no fue producto de la casualidad o la buena fe de los miembros del jurado, sino que resultó ser el resultado de un proceso de un par de siglos, tras la aparición del culto a la Virgen del Socavón, en 1789, cuando los mineros de ese entonces deciden disfrazarse de diablos para bailar en su honor, tras los milagros realizados en las leyendas del Nina - Nina y el Chiru - Chiru.'

celebration, mentioned in the Chiru-chiru legend (ACFO 2000). It is interesting to note that in this case, myth is not at all ambiguous in its 'factuality', as here it is used to mark a historical point of origin.

For instance, the Nina-nina, wherein the Virgin appeared miraculously on Carnival day to help the Nina-nina, is invoked to establish Oruro as the site of the first association between the Virgin and Carnival. The Chiru-chiru narrative, wherein the miners decide to dance in honour of the Virgin for the first time, is recalled to mark the origin of religious/ritual dancing in colonial times, as primarily a Christian practice. Whereas the myth of Huari, wherein the Ñusta/Virgin appeared to defeat the wak'a/plagues that were attacking the Urus, is called upon more symbolically, to mark the superimposition of one set of values over another. These narratives are used both by religious and cultural authorities to refer to the connections between Carnival and the Virgin in history, as in the following statement by Fray Mauro, at the Church of the Mineshaft:

> '…the pre-Columbian inhabitants [of the Oruro region] were very religious. The Urus. They *left* a beautiful world of mythology *behind*: the four plagues, the ñusta, who is a pre-figure of the Virgin of the Mineshaft (in interview, my emphasis)[35]

In the above comment, the connections between the two female deities are naturalized as one. For Fray Mauro, the myth of Huari is further proof that rather than a superimposition, there was a smooth process of amalgamation, which amounts to the 'essence' of Andean mestizaje:

> '…there was no superimposition at all. Rather these two religious expressions created something new, which we call Andean religion, right? A wonderful syncretism… that rescues the past, but with different nuances. It is no longer indigenous or native, but a product of mestizaje'. (Fray Mauro, in interview)[36]

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[35] …los habitantes precolombinos [de la región de Oruro] eran muy religiosos. Los urus. Y nos dejaron una mitología muy linda: la mitología de las cuatro plagas, de la ñusta, que ya viene siendo una prefigura de la Virgen del Socavón'.

[36] …no hay ninguna sobreposicion, ninguna, sino que estas dos expresiones religiosas crearon algo nuevo, que es esta religión andina que llamamos, ¿no? Un sincretismo maravilloso, muy bonito… que se rescata lo que viene de antes, pero ya con un matiz distinto. Ya no es meramente indígena ni originario, sino que es producto del mestizaje.

Mestizaje is thus a creative, harmonising force, the 'cosmic race' of Vasconcelos (1997 [1925]) – the agglomeration of all Latin American races and peoples coming together to build a new civilization – rather than the survival-focused crashing and blending described by Anzaldúa (1999 [1987]).

Speaking as an urban-raised mixed-race Latin American, the notion of mestizaje as the 'cosmic race' put forward by Vasconcelos (1997 [1925]) is very appealing. Hearing Fray Mauro speak in those terms about mestizaje, as a source of the never-ending possibilities of reinvention, taking the best from all cultures made me think of my school days when I was told that I was a mestiza.

I could hear the same appeal in Fray Mauro's voice as he borrowed from the myths to offer a visible thread for how mestizaje developed in the Carnival. How the Urus 'left' a 'beautiful world of myths' referring to the mythical plagues in the Myth of Huari and the Ñusta who sheds her Inca qualities to become simply the Virgin, who then appears miraculously inside the Mineshaft to save a thief on Carnival day to mark the start of the Marian cult during carnival, and how the negotiations between Andean religion and Christianity had organically combined to make the miners of the Chiru-chiru legend dance as devils in honour of the Virgin, translating with time to the festivity of the Carnival of Oruro. In other words, once the 'encounter' between Andean religion and Christian is only hinted at in terms of the Urus *leaving* their mythical religiosity *behind*, the rest of the work is the result of the harmonic amalgamation, which best found a voice through popular expressions of Catholicism. What is missing from this 'storying' of course are the painful negotiations with extirpators of idolatries to allow only mixed practices that did not contain Andean deities in any perceivable form.

Thus, mestizaje reveals that it can also adopt a dogmatic dimension, for the dominant idea that emerges from this 'storying' of the festivity through the myths is that all the different historical (and epistemological) trajectories amassed in the mestizaje process come together embracing Christianity.

In addition, written myths, as the historicising of Oruro's here illustrates, have become fixed 'archives' at the time of their writing, as opposed to the moving and changing repertoire of orality and performance. As Taylor (2003) explains, archival memory is resistant to change, from document, to buildings and ruins, maps, and

digital media, archival memory works across distance and time, like letters that find their way to a destination across the globe, separating the knowledge from the emitter (Taylor 2003: 216). There are many different narratives in the oral literature related to Carnival and its practices; I heard several ones, presenting a very different perspective on the myths and the symbols of Oruro. However, by virtue of being written, the myths of origin proposed by Beltrán Heredia (1962), Terán Erquicia (1999 [1943]), Villarroel (1999 [1908]) and Zaconeta (1925), have become 'authoritative' and above all, unchanging.

Pre-colonial experience, the histories of the pre-Hispanic civilizations that inhabited the regions and left a cultural or material legacy that has been incorporated into the festivity, is considered to be 'outside' of official Carnival history because of the hegemonic preference over written evidence over other forms of recording. This is an approach that has been criticized by heritage scholars Taylor (2003) and Harrison (2008), and more widely by post-colonial scholars because it invisibilises indigenous histories, structures and ways of disseminating information that do not rely on a system of writing that was understandable for Europeans. Harrison asserts that this 'resulted in a radical disassociation of Indigenous people from the heritage of the recent colonial past – a metaphorical usurpation of history (and hence, heritage) by the colonising group' (Harrison 2008: 178). Thus, the ideological consequences of this narrative that pinpoints Carnival origin in 1606 imply (consciously or not) that the pre-Hispanic contribution to Bolivian identity is irrelevant. This is a topic I shall further develop in terms of contemporary actors of the festive in Chapter 6.

We have seen how institutions such as UNESCO provide the framework for mechanisms of representation of the Oruro Carnival. This apparatus involves a selective process which eliminates a plethora of random experiences and practices drawn in the development of the carnival to a selected few that are given the status of heritage by being channelled into a single coherent 'storying'. The transformation of the unordered state of memory into the unilinear discourse of heritage relies on links community and place (see both Hall and Appadurai in Fairclough et al 2008), via particular symbols rooted in the past (Anderson 1991). Those symbols or elements hold symbolic capital.

4.3.5 Devil in the Andes – Polyvalence and Symbolic Capital

We have seen that in processes of foklorisation and 'heritagisation', selected elements and practices become symbolic or representative of larger concepts (identity, place, community, dogma). When festive practices are uprooted from their local environment in order to become a new symbol of the nation as a whole, that 'hallmark' of festive behaviour—a superabundance of symbols and meanings, has to be reduced down to something more easily rememberable by those who were not part of the local context which produced the festive form in the first place (Guss 2000: 14). During this process, many layers of meaning that were there to begin with in 'the subtle ambiguities of local performance' (Guss 2000: 13) have to be eliminated, and the temporal dimension of the popular form has to be removed in order to qualify as a national tradition, which can be relevant for a variety of national settings. I want to argue that the Christianisation of the polysemic Andean devil in the Carnival context reflects the eclipse of indigeneity as a result of processes of national transmission of a mestizo identity.

This Devil dance has become the most emblematic symbol of the Carnival as a whole – present in tourist brochures and in the discourses of the authorities. The significance of the Devil in Oruro is clear as soon as a visitor approaches the city. There is a huge sculpture of a Devil dancing just after the military post that marks the entry to the city. Posters advertising events or products from Oruro tend to depict a Carnival devil's mask, even if that which is being advertised is totally unrelated to festive activities, as shown in the magazine ad for banking services featuring the Diablada in **Figure 8**. Some versions of logo of the San José Football Club, the region's well-loved football club, also show a devil. In short, the Devil has widely become synonymous with Oruro.

Figure 8. Magazine ad for financial services featuring the Devil dance

The devil, under different guises, inhabits the festive, religious, productive and cosmological universe of the Andes, as previous scholarly work on the Andean devil has demonstrated (Cervantes 1994; Duviols 1971; Taylor 1980; Harris 2000; Stobart 2006, Condarco 1995, 1999, 2003, 2005 and 2007; among others). Instead, official discourses, particularly those connected to the Church of the Mineshaft, explain the Carnival devil in terms of the biblical figure.

The most common way to describe the devil dance is to speak of the devil dancing in repentance for his sins, as per the following newspaper extract:

> Archangel Michael subdued the figures from hell, who under the Michael's command were brought to the feet of Our Lady of the Mineshaft who redeemed the ills and sins of the court of Lucifer. (Antezana 2008)[37]

This is a way to describe the actions of the devil troupes led by a dancing Angel at the front dancing along the route that finishes inside the Temple of the Mineshaft, at the feet of a painting of the Virgin.

The above interpretation is upheld by the *Relato*, the colonial Eucharistic play, performed after Carnival, depicting the fall of Lucifer that is credited by Bolivian folklore expert Julia Elena Fortún (1961) with providing the performative framework

[37] 'los seres del infierno fueron controlados y al mando del Arcángel Miguel, fueron llevados hasta los pies de la Virgen del Socavón que redimió los males y los pecados de la corte de Luzbel'.

for the Devil dance. Having been absorbed by the discourses of cultural and religious authorities, this interpretation becomes authoritative and plays down the wider symbolic capital of the Andean devil.

The significance of the Devil in Andean popular culture, and ideas of hybridity in Andean Catholicism is made explicit for the context of Oruro and other mining towns in the studies of Nash (1993), Taussig (1980) and Absi (2005). Condarco (1999) sees a direct link between el Tío de la Mina of Oruro, the 'specialised deity' essential to mining production, and Huari, an ancient deity of Uru mythology, which 'resurfaces' in the Devil of the Diablada as one of the transformed deities that reappear year after year in the Oruro Carnival (Condarco 1999: 56). Harris (2000) and Stobart (2006) have written about the relationship between the cult of the dead and the devil figures that emerge during Carnival time, which in Andean rural contexts is related to the agricultural cycle of production. Harris observed in Northern Potosí, that carnival acts as the dispatch of the dead, in a celebration called 'Anata', meaning the 'time of play' also known as 'the feast of devils' (2000: 38-9). Anata is the same name of the one rural parade that takes place in Oruro in the context of Carnival (which I shall further discuss in Chapter 6). The dead, on the one hand, act as an ambivalent transitory force: sometimes seen as a destructive force, sometimes there to help with the crops (Harris 2000: 48).

Gerard Taylor (1980) discussed the connection between the devil and another concept, which has come to be related to it, Supay. He makes it clear, though, that based on his interpretation of the *Huarochirí Manucript* and other chronicles, Supay is not an adequate translation for 'devil': he argues that Supay is a syncretic deity resulting from the 'assimilation' between the devil and 'other spirits that inhabit the Andes' (Taylor 1980: 4, my translation). In Taylor's discussion of early colonial Peruvian sources Supay is associated with death, dying and the cult of the dead. At the same time however, Supay is also related to and strategies/ideas of cultural survival, as can be appreciated in what an anonymous Huarochirano chronicler had to say about what it meant to live under Spanish cultural domination (Salomon et al. 1991, quoted by Taylor 1980:11). It could be argued that the ambivalence of Supay, as a figure associated with death and survival at the same time, could be an apt metaphor of Carnival in the Andes as a time of both renewal (rain) and death.

All of these figures – el Tío de la Mina, Supay, Huari, the cyclical return of the dead who come back to help with agriculture – are among the indigenous responses to processes of acculturation. As argued by Condarco, reinterpretations of these ambivalent deities are an example of indigenous responses to processes of acculturation (1999, 2007). Through the links established by these authors between devil-like figures and the dead, it could be argued that the devil of the Diablada, surfacing at the end of the rainy season to dance the festive cycle away, is also associated to Andean ideas about the forces of the 'underworld', fertility and death (all of which are interconnected in Andean cosmovision).

These are the types of nuances that get glossed in mestizaje discourses about the festivity. In the prevailing view of the Oruro devil, which emerges as the perspective among cultural authorities, we find a viewpoint that accepts the local significance of the figure of the devil in the Andes, as depicted in the myth of Huari for instance, but ultimately places the devil of Oruro safely in a biblical context. Julia Elena Fortún eloquently expresses this viewpoint in her book *La Danza de los diablos* (1961):

> This infernal character, both feared and venerated by the workers underground all year round, occasionally emerges for the Carnival feast, which is wholly subscribed to the cult of the [Virgin] of the Mineshaft. He is personified by his own subjects, the miners [and others] who offer their allegiance in a choreographic spectacle dramatised for the Virgin, where he will be publically defeated by the Archangel Michael, representing God's armies. (Fortún 1961: 29)[38]

In the Christian reading of the devil, which Fortún advocates in her book, the connections between the 'personification of the devil by miners', and the deity Huari emerging from the underground of the Myth of Huari are lost in terms of cross-cultural significance. Or at most can only be interpreted as the symbolic defeat of Huari and his historical context (in the form of the repenting dancing devils) by Catholic devotion (Condarco 2007).

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[38] 'Este personaje infernal a quien teme y venera el trabajador del subsuelo durante todo el año, sale en ocasión de la fiesta carnavalesca –adscrita íntegramente al culto del Socavón— personificado en sus mismos súbditos, los mineros [y otros] para ofrendar su pleitesía en forma de espectáculo coreográfico dramatizado a la Vírgen, y ser públicamente derrotados por el Angel Miguel, representante de las milicias del Cielo.'

In reality, as we have seen, the devil is a highly dynamic figure with different interpretations and even manifestations. The different ways of relating to this and other emblematic figures of the festivity varies from group to group, from individual to individual, contingent on social, epistemic and cultural dynamics (which I shall explore further in Chapter 5).

Among the changing faces of symbols in popular culture, deities (such as Virgin of the Mineshaft or the devil) can operate as unifiers, acting as emblems of 'common identity between creoles and the lower social orders' (Rowe and Schelling 1991: 24), or as strategic appropriations of an acceptable European format to ensure the continuation of local practices.

The resulting polysemic figures of these dynamics become a source of symbolic capital, having simultaneous but different meanings (Rowe and Schelling 1994: 62), bringing potential meanings to mind that participate in the regimes of representation (Hall 1997). The polyvalence of the sign of the devil of the Diablada is an example of this, for interpretations of what it represents and means vary greatly according to the position of the viewer: evil for some, giver for others, tradition for one group, the embodiment of Oruro for a different group, mythical ancestry, or Catholicism – and sometimes all of these at once. Hall observed that in the representation of difference, meaning out of boundaries (i.e. polyvalence, ambivalence) could be perceived as dangerous because cultural systems tendency to organize things into a social order (1997: 236). It could be argued then that the formalisation of the Christian devil brings 'closure', as a solution to eradicate the potential danger of the ambivalent devil, who like the cholo, embodies the problematic situation of things 'out of place' (Douglas 2007).

To summarise, we have seen that in the homogenising dynamics of folklore, as initially proposed by Guss (2000), the abundance of meanings and symbols is reduced to a handful of easy-to-remember ideas, in order to affect and produce a national consciousness which is relevant for all and void of localized meaning. The complexity and subtle ambiguities of the different devil figures in the context of Carnival religiosity, and even in the mythologies explored earlier which refer to some of these figures, are transformed into a more simplistic folkloric devil. This devil is shaped by ideas of 'permitted' heritage: he may reflect shades of indigenous religiosity, and may

resonate of non-Christian deities such as el Tío or Huari who inhabit a distant past that is no longer relevant, however ultimately he dances in repentance (it must be noted that Carnival dancing is done under oath) as an offering to the Virgin.

4.4 Neither Cholo, Nor Indian – Folkloric Indigeneity

The Christianisation of the devil in Oruro is also a reflection of another dimension at play in heritage discourses: the eclipse of contemporary indigeneity in the transmission of the emerging mestizo identity. I would suggest that, whilst the elite anxieties of indigenismo eclipsed the cholo at the start of the twentieth century, as exposed earlier, the mestizo ideology of the latter half of the century replaced indigeneity (of which it was intrinsically afraid) with the figure of the folkloric Indian.

The symbolic capital of the devil has been shaped through myths and institutional management to fit into the mould of Catholic values and beliefs, showing one set of values superimposed over another, just as in the passage from Indio to peasant in the Bolivia of the 1950s, described in Chapter 3. Equally, the establishment of foundational connections between the ideology of mestizaje and a mythical indigenous state-of-being whilst in denial of contemporary versions of indigeneity, confirms the desire of Andean mestizos to project their own identity onto the budding set of symbols of the modern nation, as argued by Canepa's study of popular culture in the Peruvian Andes (1998:45).

Canepa (1998), writing about Cuzco and Peru, says that Indians remained present both in mestizo discourse and in the realm of folklore, but only as symbols of the past. Canepa describes the central role of Cuzco in the reconstruction and adoption of public dance and rituals, and explains that a sense of 'cultural rescue', the appropriation of 'folklore', 'tradition' and 'authenticity' through 'cultural institutions', allowed for the transformation and revaluation of certain dances and rituals. These expressions were then set as the model of what is 'authentic' about the nation, whilst at the same time, establishing a distance from other expressions which have been defined as 'rural and indigenous' (Mendoza-Walker 1993, quoted in Canepa 1998: 50, my translation). Canepa explains the process of distancing from contemporary indigeneity in terms of appropriation of ancient Inca culture to fill certain cultural gaps, she says

> Nationally, Cusqueño mestizo identity, distanced from indigenous identity, presents itself as the inheritor of a glorious Inca past, which is materialised in the folkloric expression and the archaeological and historical monuments of the region. (Canepa 1998: 49, my translation)

In the same way, I find that the constant allusion to the Urus is significant, and the result of a much wider ideological perspective which insists on placing emphasis on the influence of *ancient* indigenous practices but denies contemporary indigenous Oruro society of importance and prestige. In the eloquent words of Mendez, when discussing Peru during the early Republican period: 'the Indian is accepted if rooted in a distant glory and landscape' (Mendez 1996:12, my translation). It is only by glancing to the past that Carnival is enthusiastically connected to indigeneity in Oruro, focusing on indigenous roots in the distant past rather than on contemporary renditions of festive indigeneity in the official 'storying' of the festivity.

This idea became evident when I sometimes asked interviewees to talk about their ethnic identification, if they felt able to do so. Most people responded that they were either 'not sure' (of how to define their identity) or they vaguely called themselves 'mestizo' or 'Orureño'. Another particular response came more emphatically as the then-president of the ACFO responded, 'I am Uru' ('*de la raza Uru'*, in interview). It came as no surprise, given the emphasis that the authorities are placing on the 'ancestral' character of the event and their own authoritative role in it.

There are two ethnic groups denominated Uru in the Highlands, the Uru Chipayas (near the Lauca River) and the Uru-muratos (near Poopó lake, on the outskirts of Oruro). These communities belong to an ancient but segregated group facing harsh living conditions as the result of their endangered habitat and relentless institutional neglect (Wachtel 1994).

I do not believe he was referring to either of these two ethnic groups. Instead, I believe he was stating his belonging to the mythical Urus of the often-invoked *Myth of Huari*. Ethnomusicologist Hellier-Tinoco (2011) explains the impulse to establish the roots of a cultural expression in a distant past, not just in terms of nationalism and allowing the sense of difference to emerge through connections to pre-industrial times, but as an individual response globalised commercialization, digitisation and informatisation.

Indeed, if we are to agree that the Diablada visibilises the mestizo 'spirit' of Bolivia's cultural heritage (as per Jameson's national 'signatures of the visible', quoted by Appadurai 2008: 215), and if we also pursue (as per official discourses), the lack of visibility of some of its actors or their histories, this also works towards their social exclusion. In the same logic, it follows that if individuals are excluded from official narratives, the visibility of a collectivity (if those individuals are perceived as part of one) is also compromised, as expressed by GTADO member Pedro C. here:

> by erasing my dad [from the records, as first choreographer of the FACLD] they have also erased many other people of merit. (in interview, my translation)[39]

This is to me, the result of the ideological workings of mestizaje, which acknowledged the presence of indigenous elements in the making of nation, but only, in the words of Oliart (2002), 'as an ingredient which gives a certain particularity to national identity, through the appropriation of certain symbols and cultural features', but resting all along on the premise that the indigenous contributions are not part of 'worthy' culture (2002: 9, my translation).

At this point, I propose to look at the management of the symbolic past through the lens of Hale and Rivera's notion of the *indio permitido*. The term 'indio permitido' ('permitted Indian') was coined by Silvia Rivera, to refer to 'how governments are using cultural rights to divide and domesticate indigenous movements', in the words of race scholar Hale (2004: 17) through a figure culturally bounded by rural and ancestral ways. The indio permitido is thus a tolerated and instrumental figure of indigeneity, which in our context becomes the 'folkloric Indian' described in Abercrombie's work on the Oruro Carnival (1992, 2003).

The 'folkloric Indian' invokes the mythical age of Oruro during the time of the Urus, before 'civilisation' reached them. It refers to Carnival imaginaries of indigeneity borrowed from the selection of legends and myths of origins of the event about ancient but extinct civilizations, and neglects contemporary indigenous presence and cultural legacy. It does not refer to contemporary the Aymaras or Quechuas who live

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[39] '…al borrar a mi papá [del acta de fundación, como primer coreógrafo de la FACLD] han borrado a muchas otras personas más, que tenían mérito'

locally in the outskirts of the city and are often seen crossing the city centre on their way to work or visiting a State authority. It does not refer either to the Indians who are involved in peasant trade unions and sometimes block the roads with one of their historical demands; or to those who participate in the Anata Andino parade that takes part two days before the Carnival parade; or to indigenous intellectuals who work and publish in Bolivia and abroad. The 'folkloric Indian' is a distant figure from more subversive heroes of the past, such as Tupac Katari or Tupac Amaru, because it is festive and picturesque rather than revolutionary. It is also differentiated from the acculturated and suspicious cholo, who is already seen as contaminated with the vices of modernity.

Abercrombie (2003) argued that the folkloric dancing and the folkloric Indian of the Carnival parade served to legitimize the power of those in hegemonic positions through elite discourses of folklore. He observed that the incursion of elites into indigenous clothes and cultural performance for the duration of the festival, was in fact a way for elites to connect with the land without having to renounce their positions of power vis-à-vis real Indians. By allowing themselves this temporary incursion into indigeneity, their hegemonic position was safe and their claim to territory legitimatised. It allowed them to speak on behalf of indigeneity without having to suffer the discrimination and harsh living conditions (Abercrombie 1992: 282).

In fact, despite many illuminating points raised by Abercrombie in terms of the relationship between power and appropriations of the festive, I don't wholly agree with this postulate. My main objection is that in his study, Abercrombie does not take into consideration the aspect of faith which is a fundamental aspect in the discussion of Carnival participation (in Chapter 5); or the dialogical aspect of performance which allows for the existence of festive counterstrategies via the agency of urban Carnival actors, which turn the festivity into a space of contestation and cultural advancement (as we will see in Chapter 6). However, the notions of permitted Indian, and permitted transmissions of indigeneity through folkloric discourses of heritage, as evidence of the contradictory clashing between mestizo identity and indigeneity, are useful concepts for the discussion of the politics of recognition through Carnival which have become the central theme of this analysis.

4.5 Conclusion

Initially the celebration of Carnival with the performance of a street danced parade was reserved to a subaltern position. As the history of the nation embedded itself in the ritual, its performance moved from the periphery to the centre. Nowadays the Oruro Carnival is considered a Masterpiece of World Intangible Heritage by UNESCO, and a national symbol of Catholic mestizaje. One of the consequences of being in the limelight since the 1940s is that there is significant institutional and elite interest in a previously local and unimportant manifestation, increasing its role as a contested platform for ideas of Bolivianness and Bolivian subjectivity – whilst many of its original social actors have been pushed out of the limelight, and sometimes even priced out of the parade.

I have argued that this penetration into the popular by the elites is part of a larger cultural project embedded in the ideology of folklore that accompanied the political and social transformation of the period, which focused on the mestizo as a symbol of a new imaginary that would give the nation a new sense of identity and progress.

In the management of national discourses through festive and popular practices, there are at stake processes of selection and editing from a wealth of random experiences and practices which are given the status of heritage by being channelled into a single coherent 'storying', which link ideas of community to place, and then to memory (Hall 2008, Appadurai 2008).

It is possible to conceive that this formula for the Carnival as a 'Catholic-mestizo-festive event' might not have been achieved without the top-down management of national imaginaries, and the adherence to a linear trajectory that serves to distance the Carnival from contemporary indigenous practices and legacies with ideas of collective progress. This was done in the form of official narratives emanating from the festivity and projecting themselves over the national imaginary. In Oruro, there has been a borrowing from a selection of practices, oral and performed, to place the indigenous component of national identity in the past, and in neglect of contemporary Aymara or Quechua presence and cultural legacy. Heritage is largely endorsed as the most important aspect of knowledge transfer taking place in the festivity, and in this chapter we have looked at three strategies for the legitimation of elite Catholic-mestizo heritage discourses: 1) Institutional management of memory, 2) Appropriation

of oral spaces, and 3) Reinterpretation of existing cosmological symbols. None of these official narratives are the only forces at work, but they greatly influence practice and experiences (which is the substance of the next chapter).

5. Festive Performance and the Possibilities of Becoming

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the performative dimension of the festival as generative of social and cultural processes, moving beyond the transmissive role that official discourses have reserved for Carnival in Oruro about values and memory. Guss (2000) has spoken of festive performances as sites of social reconfiguration, whereby the possibilities afforded by the interconnectedness of performance make it a site of contestation rather than a one-way street.

I shall focus on carnival as performative experience under the collectivity of the *conjunto* ('dance troupe') where the polyphony of the festive emerges most explicitly. The discussion will include a closer look at the relationship between performance and meaning, and how actors have to negotiate their participation through different frameworks and interests: from their own motivations, needs and beliefs, to the mandates of official discourses and the audience, as they work through internal frictions and agreements.

I shall look at the discourse of faith as a binding force in Carnival practices, and also explore what participants, under the collectivity of the conjunto, seek to say about their differences from other Carnival actors, for instance, in terms of what they choose to innovate and what stays the same, and the social projections and tensions that this generates.

Previously, I have argued that the projections of official discourses of identity and belonging in the performance of Carnival in Oruro radiate narratives of Bolivianness that operate inside 'exclusionary politics' (Araoz 2003), that promote the Catholic content of the festivity, and include a claim to a unique and 'authentic' character, as portrayed in the folkloric dimension of the dances.

However, I found that the potentiality of the festive (Bakhtin 1984), under the gaze of the audience and the media, are important elements in defining individual paths of participation in the performative, in terms, for instance, of the particular dance group performers might prefer to join, or the type of dance to embody. I would argue that these choices draw paths of meaning amidst the cacophony (borrowing Bakhtin's term, 1984) of sounds, smells, visuals, bodies, icons and messages that divert from or interfere with the processes of representation that cultural authorities attribute to Carnival.

Guss (2000: 12) has spoken of the interconnectedness of cultural performance, as 'sites of social action where identities and relations are continually being reconfigured'. Rather than a one-way discursive street, dictated by official mandates, performance has to be seen as a site of meetings, tensions and combinations, where larger discourses, personal motivations, desires, tastes, beliefs, and needs, meet to give way to a multiplicity of meanings, that can be new, complementary or contradictory, in accordance with Bakhtin's notion of the festive as a 'means of grasping reality' (Bakhtin 1984), in the 'very process of becoming' (Guss 2000: 12). Romero (2001) has also suggested that Andean festivals are not just reflections of existing social processes but they are generative of new ones by reordering existing social relationships and networks (2001: 52).

Many previous scholars have already exposed the idea of the Andean fiesta as generating new meanings and processes. There is the question of how people articulate their own identity into the fiesta, for instance, in terms of their ethnic and gender identity, generating new boundaries for themselves, which has been discussed by Mendoza (2000); and how the festive space opens up a platform for a contested cosmovision of indigeneity to be embodied and impersonated during the festive (Stobart 2006); how the festive mask can be a way to articulate the self into historical and political narratives; also how people articulate their own subjectivities in terms of

their relationship to the dominant religion which has been discussed by Sallnow (1987) on new and culturally tense renditions of Andean Catholicism; and how the relationship between the context of the festive, and the fiesta itself through the interconnectedness between context-text (Howard-Malverde 1997a) assigns new meanings and dimensions to the elements of the festive. As for instance, in the case expressions chosen to be representative of the nation's folklore acquiring new dimensions and replacing themselves in terms of the 'imagined community' of the nation, as discussed by Guss (2000).

The significance of the mask and costume in the performance of carnival dancing, recalls Canepa's (1998) argument that power over our self-image or the image of others is equivalent to real power in today's terms. When seen in the context of managed projections of national identity, the imaginaries that emerge from Masquerades, such as the Oruro Carnival, allow for the objectivisation of identities that can capture a double heritage: both the Spanish and the Andean, without having to engage in the political and historical journey of our hybridity (1998: 10). This is a pertinent proposal in terms of an articulation needed to cross the boundaries between the solemn and sacred features of the parade imposed by the authorities (and local ideas of decency and prestige), and the realm of the carnivalesque and the festive. I would say that the power of the mask, which extends to Carnival performance in the context of the fiesta in the Andes, resides in its ability to project another self onto the person wearing it. This process of becoming complements the non-dancing self (the 'everyday' self) in ways that help the negotiation of relationships between self or collectivity with the outside world.

Through the course of this chapter I shall explore the notion of festive performance as the means to articulate being through becoming. I shall also look at how meaning operates through 'distinctions' between self and other (Bourdieu 2000), and the tensions between the normative and the transgressive, in the production of meaning and transformative possibility through people's participation in Carnival via the dance troupe. By highlighting certain nodes of tensions faced by cultural performers, I aim to identify distinguishable individual and collective voices and projects, and reveal performances' potential to generate new forces and spaces (Mendoza 2000, García Canclini 1992).

However, first, we need to establish the actors of the festive through the lens of the conjunto.

There is a widespread view that 'everyone' takes part in Carnival:

> 'Here in Oruro Bolivian cultural traits from all places converge… here are all the expressions. The Fatherland is united in the forty eight dance troupes.' (Fray Mauro, in interview, my translation)[40]

I would argue that although participation is wide-ranging, actors' participation is still subject to determinant factors operating outside of the festive realm. Oruro, as with cities in the rest of the region, is home of a fragmented society, in which people are hierarchically organized according to their trade, their gender and ethnicity, their place of origin, their socio-economic background, and their status in the community. These variants determine to a large extent not only if an individual might be able to join, but also which conjunto they will dance with, and in turn, what transmission processes they will take part in.

5.1 The Conjunto

As explained in the Methodology chapter, I focused the data collection on one type of Carnival dance in particular: the Diablada. Within the Diablada I approached three of the five troupes: (i) the eldest conjunto, the GTADO, which established many of the practices which are now thought of as 'Carnival traditions'; (ii) the troupe formed by the elite that emerged when the GTADO split into two, FACLD; and (iii) the youngest of them all, the DAU, today very popular among the youth. Among the other dances (there are 18 dances in total[41]), there were smaller unique conjuntos, like the Doctorcitos Itos, who are struggling to survive in the competitive arena of Carnival as they are under constant threat of closure by the authorities as a result of their low numbers (Armando Y., Doctorcitos Itos authority, in interview). On the other end of the scale, there are the predominantly larger Morenada conjuntos performing the

[40] 'Aquí en Oruro confluye la cultural boliviana de todos los sitios… aquí están todas las expresiones. En los cuarenta y ocho conjuntos está unida la patria.'

[41] For the full list of dances included in the dance parade, please see Appendix C.

dance unofficially considered Bolivia's 'national dance', such as the *Cocanis*[42], whose intake of dancers has been capped by Carnival authorities because of its rapid growth, or the also popular *Caporales ENAF*, a large conjunto that performs the caporal dance which is among the most in demand with young people.

A *conjunto folkórico* (generic name given to the troupes that take part in the parade) is made up of dancers, and a management body, called the *directorio*. Besides the directorio, there is a group (in the larger conjuntos) who are in charge of looking after the image of the Virgin that each of the conjuntos own, the *Cofradía*; and as far as I was able to judge, only women can join a Cofradía. The dancers are organized into bloques or subgroups, each with their own costume, and choreographic displays. Each bloque is led by a leader, or *guía*.

In terms of the Devil dance troupes, although there are similarities in the conjuntos' organisational structures, the ritual practices, and the patterns of the dances, there are also profound differences.

In the bloque I joined in the GTADO, there were some bank workers, chemists, clerical officers and a well-respected journalist, but the vast majority of people were in the meat trade. Whereas the GTADO is mostly glued together by kin and trade networks (based on membership to Oruro's slaughterhouse via its trade union, the *Unión Gremial de Matarifes*), the other two Devil dance groups I observed (the FACLD and the DAU) have traditionally been more open to people outside established social networks. However, to join these two institutions, new members must be formally introduced by an existing member and give evidence of their financial status.

The FACLD was founded by the elite of Oruro, and continues to be run by elite members of the community, that is businessmen, intellectuals and people occupying authority roles. Nowadays, however, it is much more open to people outside of elite circles, given that all the Devil groups are interested in increasing their numbers. The DAU attracts primarily young people from different social backgrounds, but members still need to prove their financial solvency, and their high joining fees (as with the FACLD) ensure that only certain sectors of society can enter it.

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[42] Their official name is *Morenada Central Oruro "Fundada por la Comunidad Cocanis"*. They emerge historically from amongst *cocanis*, those in the trade of coca leaves, in market stalls around the city.

Having a large membership is seen as an asset among the carnival conjunto circles. It is a sign of prestige and success and therefore the troupes are often in direct or indirect competition as they vie to attract new recruits. Some of the conjuntos have achieved more success than others in this respect, which is related to the visibility of conjuntos in wider social terms. The GTADO is the least visible of the three in that they are not usually included in media coverage or cultural events outside of the Carnival parade.

In ethnic terms, my interviewees from the FACLD and the DAU self-identified as mestizos, they spoke Spanish and wore Western-style clothes. The members of the GTADO, on the other hand, did not always adopt an ethnic label themselves. Many in the group spoke Quechua (some Aymara too), particularly the elders in the group, who were numerous compared to the other two institutions, and many of the elder women wore *polleras* (urban indigenous skirts) as opposed to wearing Western clothes, which is in itself a marker of ethnicity. The ethnicity and trade of mañasos[43], places them lower ion the social ladder than the members of the FACLD and the DAU, which explains why their visibility is compromised in festive events covered by the media (although they might also be seen as more 'authentic' in the contemporary climate of identity politics).

There are enough differences among these actors to separate their everyday lives considerably in the social map of Oruro, as people group according to their trade, their ethnicity, their family provenance and other social markers into separate social spaces, as expressed by Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu 2000: 33). In Carnival, however, they come together. This could be explained by Turner's notion of *communitas*, as those particular moments in the life of the community, when its actors transitorily come together in spirit (Turner 1969), and also by cultural performance's intrinsic capacity to interconnect actors, interests and projects (Guss 2000, García Canclini 1992).

[43] Among the younger generations, however, this changes. The offspring of many of my middle-aged interviewees, had completed university degress and were in the early stages of their professional careers. Having a professional qualification increases their chances of social mobility.

In the next section, I propose to look at the ways in which these interconnections operate and negotiate their internal contradictions, to produce meaning and social reconfigurations, and how they impact on the significance of Carnival in the lives of its actors.

5.2 Performance and Meaning in Oruro

Fiestas, by virtue of being 'carnivalesque' public displays, offer an alternative platform for social interaction, where social practices can be rearranged or restored, just as bodies can be reshaped, values can be instilled, and symbols can be adopted and adapted to one's own socio-cultural project of self-definition – to produce new meanings and symbols (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1994 [1983]).

The Carnival we know today is a phenomenon that developed in the second half of last century, as seen in Chapter 4, that was managed to contribute in the establishment of hegemonic formations of the national. The focus of the analysis here is to determine how the different levels of interaction at performance level produce new meanings and reconfigure social relations for Carnival actors today.

Before going any further, I shall establish what is meant by performance for the present discussion, and what has already been said about performance in the Andes.

5.2.1 The Dynamics of Performance

Performance has traditionally been used in the social sciences to reflect upon two worlds: the world of symbolic and aesthetic activities, such as theatrical or folkloric representations, which are bounded to a time and a place normally set apart from our daily ordinary lives; and another world that is more related to daily practices, and not intended to be perceived as 'performance' but which nevertheless produces textual meaning that can be analysed in its context-bound performativity. Schechner (2002) differentiates the two worlds as 'is-performance' and 'as-performance'. In the first case, people participate by people either performing or watching and ideas of virtuosity and expressive competence become relevant (Bauman 1986, quoted by Schieffelin 1998: 195), whereas 'as-performance' reflects the daily dynamics of interactions between individuals and the others (Goffman 1990 [1959], Schiefflin 1998). Goffman says performance is 'all the activity of a given participant on a given

occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants' (Goffman 1990 [1959]: 26).

This area of performance is associated to theories of practice (Bourdieu 2000, de Certeau 1988), and the idea that human expressivity is affected when human beings come into contact with one another, establishing the meaningfulness of culture and society and their social identity through their voice, gestures and appearance. This second realm of performance is also associated to Merleau-Ponty's work on phenomenology (2002 [1945]), who described our experiences of the world as the intertwining of our consciousness, our body and the world, which challenges the Cartesian view of the mind as the centring of the individual.[44]

Carnival is clearly a performance in the 'is-performance' sense, as a spectacle that is bracketed apart from everyday life, and judged on the virtuosity of the display. Dance troupes, taking part in the parade complete a 3-hour route that crosses the city, in sequential order. Each dance troupe interprets a dance, a set of characters and a choreographic style. Troupes are made up of bloques that have their own characteristics.

Here is an example of a bloque formation of *Luciferes* and *Chinas Supay* for Carnival performance.

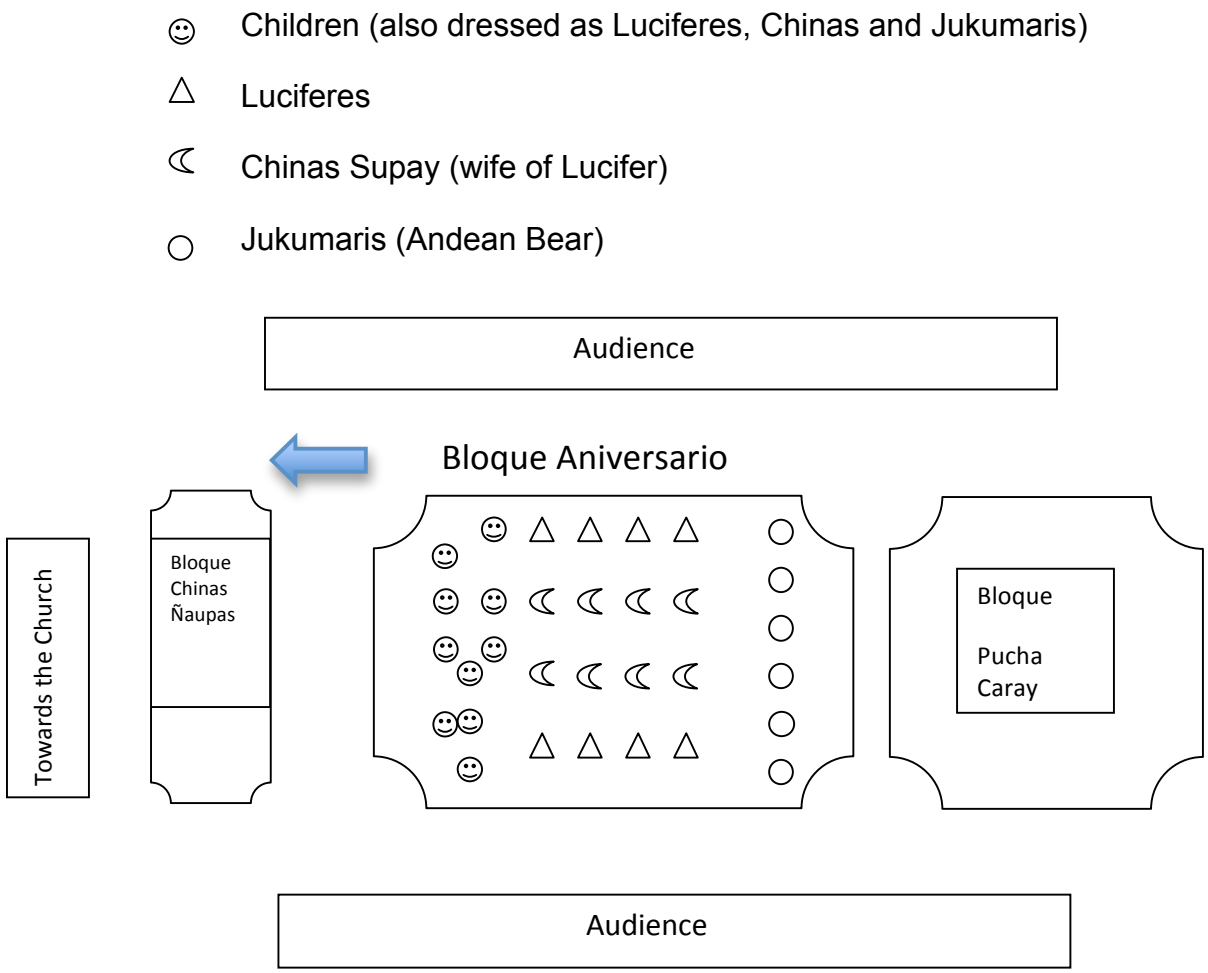

Figure 9. Parade formation of Bloque Aniversario (GTADO)

Figure 9 shows the Bloque *Aniversario* ('anniversary') at the GTADO, which I joined as a dancer in 2008. It was a fairly new formation (two years old), led by Don Marco, who had danced for over fifty years. Most people in it were connected through the meat trade and had danced in previous years. Each of the symbols represents a different Diablada character. The brass band was located two bloques ahead of us, and we danced to their tunes.

The spectacle is in the dancing, the music and the costumes. Some conjuntos create more expectations than others in terms of their execution and the exuberance of their costumes. When conjuntos reach the Church of the Mineshaft, they disperse, and the 'show' is over. The clear boundaries of the parade as a danced procession performed in front of an audience establish it as an 'is-performance' phenomenon.

Having established this dimension of the parade, I propose to concentrate on the 'as-performance' aspect of the event next. For Schieffelin (1998), as for Goffman (1990 [1959]) – and this is a perspective I will adopt – performance takes place all the time, and is about our expressivity in everything we do, whether we mean it to be communicative or not—and because of this, he calls it an inherently contingent process (Schieffelin 1998: 197). Therefore, I too depart from the premise that the way something is done is both performative and context-bound.

The interconnectedness between text and context has greatly interested anthropologists of the Andes. For example, how performance and language are connected (Howard-Malverde 1997a, Arnold and Yapita 2006), how commemorative events are constitutive of social behaviour (Harvey 1997), how ethnicity and gender mediation can derive from participation in festive performance (Femenías 2005, Mendoza 2000), and how festive performances have been used as sites of historical reconfiguration (Romero 2001). They have, like Schieffelin (1998), looked at the idea that although they are not reducible to one another, discourses (whether written or not) can come out of a performance and vice versa (1998: 199). Howard-Malverde (1997a) has also identified the interconnectedness of text-context in cultural practice in the Andes, which is of use here to identify how the contextual aspect of the Oruro Carnival, in terms of ritual, social and economic organisation, can have an effect on transformations and continuations of the performed event in question.

I have already established the religious character of Carnival. However whilst official discourses are rather set on what this means, the nuances of this connection are best illustrated in the performative dimension. For Oruro dancers, Carnival performance is formally inaugurated with a ritual called *la promesa* ('the oath'), one week after All-Saints day. After the first public rehearsal on the Carnival route and on the arrival of all dancers inside the Church of the Mineshaft, new dancers make their ritual promise to God and the Virgin to dance for at least three consecutive years and be good Christians. With this oath, people *become* Carnival subjects, and Carnival performance is from then on contingent on a relationship with the Virgin as well as the embodied, social and material aspects of taking part.

I recorded the Promesa ceremony which marked the start of the festive period for the Carnival of 2008, which consists of a ceremonial exchange between the officiating priest and the dancers:

> - (Priest) Do you promise to dance for at least three years?
>
> - (Dancers, in unison) Yes, we do.
>
> - (Priest) And do you promise to behave as good team-mates in your conjunto and as good Christians?
>
> - (Dancers) Yes.
>
> - (Priest) Do you promise to subject yourself out of your own free will to the sacrifices that are required for the preparation for Carnival religious dancing in honour of the Virgin of the Mineshaft?
>
> - (Dancers) Yes, we promise.
>
> - (Priest) May God bless your good aims, and the Virgin, our patron saint help us fulfil our promise. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.[45] (Ceremony of the Promise to the Virgin during the mass at the end of the First Convite, from own video).

The ceremony marks the formal start of the religious initiation for many new dancers, and the continuity or 'renewal' of returning dancers. This ceremony is seen as binding, and dancers must complete their three-year promise. It is not just a physical or a moral commitment, but a financial one too for it means a commitment to pay for participation over three years, determining to an extent who is able to fulfil this oath and who must shy away from it. Performance is contingent from the start on being able to fulfil this oath with the Virgin and the rest of the dancing community.

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[45] - (Priest) ¿Prometen bailar durante por lo menos tres años?

- (Dancers) Sí, prometemos.

- (Priest) ¿Y prometen portarse como buenos compañeros en su conjunto y como buenos cristianos?

- (Dancers) Sí.

- (Priest) ¿Prometen someterse de buena voluntad a los sacrificios que impone la preparación a la danza religiosa del Carnaval en honor a la Virgen del Socavón?

- (Dancers) Sí, prometemos.

- (Priest) Qué Dios bendiga a su buena intención y la Virgen santa, nuestra patrona, nos ayuda a cumplir su promesa, en el nombre del Padre, del Hijo y del Espíritu Santo. Amén.

Beyond the issue of faith and the notion of offering (which we shall explore further in later sections), the connections established in this episode regarding the symbolic, festive-solemn and binding character of Carnival in Oruro serve to illustrate an undeniable link between faith, place and festive performance. The dogmatic character of the bond bestows a particular identity on Carnival performance, which relies on the idea of the Virgin as (i) a Christian figure, (ii) a festive icon, and (iii) a symbol of Oruro.

The significance of the context of the cult to the Virgin in the passage to becoming a dancer in Oruro demonstrates the dialogical relationship between performance and meaning. Dancers' participation falls into frameworks of pre-assigned meanings, where they generate a force that translates into social dynamics with the rest of the dancing community, and through them the wider community as a whole, given Carnival's role in projections of the national.

The context of performance is not just determined by religious devotion. There are the two requisites of Carnival performance: to dance under oath to the Virgin, and be part of a conjunto. I would suggest that the choice of dance troupe implies adherence to an existing community, whose ways and interpretations of the festive will provide a meaningful framework for individual performance. The choice is not just between types of dances, because we find differences between conjuntos that interpret the same dances and work around the same symbols. For instance, the different approaches to the figure of the Devil among the devil dance troupes as briefly discussed in the previous chapter, serves to illustrate how the different ideas of social distinction and cultural belonging manifest themselves in cultural performance.

Mendoza observed that dancing in troupes in the Andes may be seen as a means through which different social groups constitute themselves as different from others (2000: 16). Given the institutional and social framework of the festivity, these choices are related to projects of self-definition, for conjuntos also operate as bodies with their own social identity, to which members adhere on joining.

The focus of the discussion to follow will be on how these two requisites for dance performance operate at ground level. Within the many layers of meaning generated by festive performance, we have already discussed the Carnival as a polysemic space, as well as the dimension that deals with the dynamics of representation of national

narratives at play in the festivity. Next, I propose to examine two other frameworks of meaning that emerged with force from my ethnography of the performative in Oruro: the binding force of faith and the dynamics of 'distinction' (Bourdieu 2000).

5.2.2 Faith

Despite marked differences in terms of social standing amid the different social groups at stake, many of the experiences are shared among the participants regardless of their background because of the all-encompassing nature of the festivity, a phenomenon not unique to Oruro, which Turner called *communitas* in his work on the 'ritual process' in Africa (1969). The preparatory ceremonies called *veladas* in honour of the Virgin, in the preparation of the costume and the choreographic display; and, indeed, the experience of the urban space transformed by the festivity, are all experiences that dancers, musicians, organizers participate in. That feeling of togetherness during the festive is clearly shaped by ideas of devotion shared by festive actors from different social backgrounds and across different festivities. I found that faith acts as common denominator in the fiesta, and it is often quoted as the main reason for participation by Carnival dancers regardless of their social, ethnic or economic background.

Regarding the polyphonic religious character of this period in Oruro faith acts as a discursive unifier and is intrinsically linked to the notion of place in Oruro: from the religious observance to El Tío underground in the mines, the pilgrimage to the wak'as on every first Friday, the *ch'alla* (blessing ceremony*)* of the businesses on the Friday before Carnival, to the more predominant offerings to the Virgin of the Mineshaft. When I approached most people about their reasons for joining in the festivity, they all claimed that it was out of devotion to the Virgin of the Mineshaft that they participated, and their danced participation was expressed in terms of an offering to her.

I would argue that the idea of dance performance as offering also serves as a way to engage the celebration with a regional subjectivity through the links between place, heritage, and identity that emerge in the dancing and the celebration of Carnival.

During a conversation about religiosity in Oruro, Condarco once told me humorously but with conviction that Orureños are 'hommus religiosus', alluding to the

notorious religiosity of the inhabitants of the region (Condarco, personal communication). Written words about the extraordinary religiosity of Orureños abound in the works of Revollo (2003), and Murillo Vacarreza (1999), and all the local expert writers on Carnival. This affirmation is part of the official discourse of Carnival traditions printed in all the tourist leaflets (and was included in the UNESCO bid for World Heritage status), just as it is also constantly reaffirmed by people's comments in everyday life, particularly when faced with a camera or the notebook of a researcher.

To reach this conclusion, Condarco (1999) traces back the spirituality of the region to the myths around the pre-Incaic deities projected onto the landscape (wak'as). These wak'as, which according to Condarco make of Oruro a '*sacer locus*' (place of worship), are still visited during the ritual cycle from November to March, charging the hills of with meaning, symbolism and a sense of continuity as people visit them in cyclical pilgrimages (1999: 93).

Figure 10. Blessing ceremony at the Snake wak'a

Clearly, this sense of religiosity and continuity with the past is also an incredibly significant aspect of the Carnival parade, although official discourses miss out on the contemporary significance of the wak'as in the relationship between Andean reciprocity and wellbeing (illustrated in **Figure 10**), in favour of a Catholic discourse. Dario A. (GTADO dancer and authority) expresses his faith thus:

> When a person has faith, in the Lord, in the Saints, in the dead, in the Virgin Earth, then things go well. But you cannot mock these things, [you cannot] make offerings one moment and not the next. That makes no sense. (Dario A, in interview, my translation)[46]

Mauss (1990) defined the offering (the 'gift' in his terms) as the establishment of an obligation between offerer and receiver. Faith, connected to ideas of an 'unconditional trust' (Ricoeur 1995: 47), wellbeing and fulfilment, relies on the idea of the offering as the establishment of an exchange relationship with a supernatural force. This connection of cause and effect between someone's commitment to their faith and their achievement of wellbeing is related to Andean conceptions of the binding relationship between humans and supernatural forces, through which both are in the role of givers and receivers (Sillar 2009, Allen 2002). It is a view I encountered among many interviewees, regardless of the target of the devotion (be it 'Catholic' or 'Andean').

We have already established the hybrid character of popular Catholicism in the Andes in Chapter 3, whereby Catholic saints are treated in the same ways as local animist deities are. In his study of Andean religiosity as relationships of interdependency between people and the material world, Sillar explained that the purpose of the offering is to 'engender and promote commitment on the part of the deities to those making the offerings' (Sillar 2009: 368). The relationship of exchange is achieved through giving offerings repeatedly, taking part in annual pilgrimages, and frequent evocation (Sillar 2009: 365), which relates to the Andean concept of *ayni*.

From the elite members of the larger Diablada troupes, to the individual members of the less visible groups, such as the Doctorcitos, dancers connect through the idea of taking part in the annual parade as an offering. Another example:

> '[we] definitely dance for the Virgin, it is our belief. She has given us many things here in Oruro. We dance for her […] This year in particular, [I had] interesting reasons for dancing, apart from the group issue. I asked the Virgin to help me become the President of Coteor [Oruro's main Telecoms company], and she granted my

[46] 'Cuando una persona tiene fe, con el señor, con los santos, con los difuntos, con la virgen tierra, entonces la cosa va bien. Pero no es cuestión de hacerse la burla, un momento invita, otro rato no… entonces ahí no tiene ningún sentido'.

> wish'.[47] (Toba dancer interviewed just outside the Temple of the Mineshaft after parade)

In this case, the 'voice' belonged to the CEO of the main provider of telecoms in Oruro, also indicating that, in essence, his danced offering ensured the fulfilment of his ambition.

When I asked the reasons why people danced, one of the most common responses is that Orureños express their devotion towards the Virgin through dance. In the words of Beatriz, who has danced in the FACLD for thirteen years:

> From a very young here in Oruro we encourage devotion to the Virgin of the Mineshaft. Well, we all dance in the Carnival in her honour. (Beatriz, 33, FACLD dancer)[48]

Dancing and locality are intrinsically connected in this quote. Clearly, dancing, as a way to construct social space, is widely applied in the Andes, as documented more recently in the works of Bigenho (2000) and her study of Carnival in Yura (Bolivia), Mendoza (2000) on the mestizo provincial dance comparsas in Cuzco (Peru), and Stobart (2006) on Carnival rural practices in Macha (Bolivia), among others. In Oruro, this process is not reserved to the groups who live in regional or national subalternity such as those documented in the works of the authors named above, it is also the case of elite groups such as the dancers of the FACLD, to which Beatriz belongs.

Differences among the various social groups emerge, however, from the choice of festivity, the choice of conjunto and the choice of the target(s) of devotion, as people pick and choose from the deities at hand in the historically and culturally hybrid context of Oruro's festive imaginaries, which encompass from contemporary, to Christian and pre-Hispanic Andean traditions.

Dario A, of the GTADO, explains his own diverse beliefs:

> For instance, [if] we have a financial problem, and bad luck ensues, the first thing we do – I do – is to kneel before the Lord. I ask him for

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[47] '[se baila] definitivamente para la Virgen, es parte de nuestra creencia. Ella nos ha dado muchas cosas acá en Oruro. Por ella bailamos […] Este año en particular, [tuve] razones interesantes para bailar, aparte de la cuestión del grupo. Yo le pedí a la Virgen que me ayudara a convertirme en el Presidente de [Empresa Cooperativa de Telefonía] Coteor, y me lo concedió.'

[48] 'Desde muy pequeños aca en Oruro nos incentivan una devoción a la Virgencita del Socavón. Y bueno, en el Carnaval todos bailamos en honor a ella.'

> wellbeing, for wellbeing and forgiveness. We are sinners. […] The first thing we do – I do – on the first Thursday [of the month], I ask the Lord to provide for by me lighting incense. Then I also remember the Saints. On Monday I also remember our ancestors, may they rest in peace, I don't forget my mother, my father, I give them their prayer. It's a personal issue. On the first Saturday [of the month] I have to make offerings to the Virgin Earth. No-one asks me to do it. It's my personal belief. Each person does as they see fit. In my case, with all I do, I don't lack anything at all'. (in interview)[49]

I observed that the emphasis on the 'personal' aspect of each person's religiosity – that is, the ability to mix and match from different faith targets from among Catholic and Andean deities – is a constant factor, and responds to pre-determinants such as an individual's cultural and social background and standing, their ethnicity, and their place of origin. For instance, I observed different degrees of identification with the Virgin, as some dancers were solely committed to her image, others shared their devotion among different deities. This offers a contrasting perspective to what is portrayed in official discourses that all Carnival devotion is directed to the Virgin.

On the other hand, whereas the majority of my interviewees echoed the words of Beatriz above, naming the Virgin as the main or sole object of their devotion, the more I approached individuals from subaltern groups: the musicians, the older members of the GTADO, the Doctorcitos, the members of the local branch of the National Peasants Federation (the FTSUCO), the more they expressed a spirituality anchored in traditional Andean beliefs around the dead and the higher spirits of Andean cosmovision, for instance the Pachamama, el Tío, the ancient spirits of the dead (or *achachilas*), and the wak'as.

Despite official indication that the Virgin is at the centre of religiosity in the celebration, it emerged that there are varied religious approaches at stake in the festivity, and that these can be predetermined by the collectivities that give their social

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[49] 'Por ejemplo, [si] tenemos un problema digamos económico, y [si] sigue la desgracia, digamos. Lo primero que nosotros hacemos – yo, por ejemplo, en en mi caso, lo primero que yo hago, me arrodillo al señor, le pido pa que me vaya bien, que me perdone. También somos pecadores. […] Lo primero que hacemos – yo hago – un jueves primero, le pido al señor pa que me de con incienso. Después también a los santitos también les recuerdo. Los días lunes también me recuerdo de los antepasados que en en paz descansen, de mi papá, de mi mamá, tampoco no me olvido, su oración. Eso es cuestión personal. Ahora también un primer sábado, a la virgen tierra igual también tengo que servir. Eso nadie no me exige. Es creencia personal. Cada cual hace lo que le convenga. Y con todo ello, no me falta el pan del día.'

identity to the conjunto, which leads us to the next section. I shall explore how individuals choose a conjunto as the framework for their participation (in terms of choosing a conjunto and dance style) and the social dynamics of representation.

5.2.3 Social Distinction

My participation in the parade elicited a range of responses. When I explained to people that I, an outsider from La Paz, had opted to become a GTADO dancer, there were various reactions from other Carnival dancers that went from (i) expressions of respect for having joined the oldest conjunto; to (ii) surprise (or even shock) that someone of green eyes (me) had not opted for a more fashionable conjunto like one of the Morenadas or one of the top Diabladas; (iii) others assumed that I too must be in the meat trade in La Paz. By having opted for this path of participation (through my choice of dance and conjunto) I was immediately located somewhere on an unseen social map that helps people construct the social space of Oruro in their minds.

Mendoza (2000) observed that dance performance comments and acts on cultural and social processes of self-definition affecting the community (2000: 40). One of the ways it does so is by giving shape to 'the differences (local distinctions) that are based on experiencing different categories and values' (Mendoza 2000: 38) of each social group.

Bourdieu (2000) has spoken elsewhere of the existence of categorising imaginaries and structures that dictate the social positioning of individuals as a result of the workings of the *habitus.* The *habitus*, he explains is a 'generating and unifying principle' which translates the preferences and tastes of a social group onto a position in the hierarchies of the social map (2000: 33, my translation). The differences that emerge from *habitus* operate to establish 'distinctions' among these groups, by placing value on them.

My choice of participation at the GTADO worked as an 'operator of distinction' in the existing principles of social categorization (Bourdieu 2000: 33), just as a young woman may choose to keep wearing a *pollera* (urban indigenous skirt) like her mother, or to change into Western clothes (referred to as '*ir de vestido*', literally to 'wear a dress'). Her particular choice will carry meaning in the system of 'distinctive signs' (Bourdieu 2000: 34) which help determine where she will be placed on the social map

of her community, either as 'chola', bringing her closer to the stigma of Indianness; or as someone 'de vestido', which makes her more 'modern' and 'forward-looking'.

I found that, to a large extent, one of the most significant aspects of people's participation in the parade, apart from the exercise of faith and religiosity, is the sense of social belonging that is facilitated by the conjunto. Many conjuntos operate through existing networks – that is, networks of kin, trade or socialisation that exist outside of the festive. However, individual choice related to a person's likes and interests has become increasingly significant since the development of the festivity into an icon, and since dancers have a larger choice of conjuntos to choose from.

5.2.4 Choosing a Socio-cultural Identity

Initially, choosing a conjunto will in many cases, particularly for people with less economic resources, be down to financial matters. There are many and wide-ranging options.

At one end of the scale, there are small conjuntos, like the Doctorcitos Itos, charging no joining fees, and their costume can be put together for a small amount. However, ACFO has tried to close the Doctorcitos on several occasions as too few people dance there (Armando Y., in interview), and the place a conjunto occupies in the parade is always in demand because new entries are strictly regulated (Ascanio Nava, in interview).

At the opposite end, there are the larger, prestigious groups such as the Morenada Cocanis, or the FACLD which – given their standing, the media coverage they receive, and the spectacularity of their display – continue to attract large numbers of people. Participation in these comes at a higher cost, often extending into hundreds of US$ to cover a joining fee and a costly costume. Despite the high investment needed to participate in them, many people still queue up to join their ranks, and put themselves through selective entry tests in order to join an already successful institution.

I found that when making choices, new dancers are also influenced by their own preferences acquired as a result of the visibility and level of 'success' of a conjunto. Media play a role, for an institution that features more prominently in the media is likely to attract larger numbers of people. The FACLD, for instance, is the official face

of *Paceña* beer, the main sponsor of the Oruro Carnival. Their images are plastered all over Oruro during the celebrations, and appear on all the TV images that use a massive Paceña poster in the Avenida Cívica as their background; just as they are the Diablada conjunto of choice for most national and international platforms, as can be seen in **Figure 11**.

Figure 11. Sponsor Poster at the main stage of the route, Avenida Cívica, featuring the FACLD.

When asked what had made him choose his conjunto, Hector M., with twenty-eight years' experience as a FACLD dancer, said:

> When I was little […] when[ever] the Frate [FACLD] went past our house, my family and neighbours would shout "*La Frate! La Frate! La Frate!*" You see? So it stays with since you were young. "*La Frate! La Frate! La Frate!*" I used to wait for the Frate to go past my house since I was little… The Devil troupe used to cross our window, and it was always my dream to dance with them. I think I have already fulfilled some of my life's ambitions. (in interview 26 08 08)[50]

Both a high reputation and an air of familiarity are the best selling points of the FACLD, for they contribute to the visibility of the product in the minds of Orureños.

[50] 'Ya cuando era … pequeño, todo el mundo, cuando pasaba la Frate, en mi casa y en los vecinos, decían *'¡La Frate! ¡La Frate ¡La Frate!'* ¿no? Entonces te va quedando desde pequeño '*¡La Frate! ¡La Frate ¡La Frate!'* Yo esperaba de pequeño que la Frate pase por mi casa … Pasaba la diablada por mi puerta, y siempre era mi sueño bailar en La Frate. Creo que parte de mi vida la tengo realizada'

The interviewee then explained that the reasons why the FACLD had such high standing were related to its high performance standards, in his own words:

> 'The FACL has a lot of prestige precisely because of its training, [which is] very demanding, right? I may add too that the Fraternidad is one of the troupes that are very well regarded abroad, and it has introduced many important innovations in the devil costume.' (Hector M, in interview 26 08 08)[51]

As observed in Chapter 4, foreign appreciation seems to legitimise local claims of prestige and a high reputation. According to Donna Haraway (1991: 10), there is a personal body and a social body, and the emphasis remains on location. Thus we could say that the personal body of the dancer gains meaning from attaching himself to the highly prestigious social body of the conjunto. For Csordas, the connection is about '[accepting] the interpretive consequences of being grounded in a particular embodied standpoint' (Csordas 1994: 2). Grounding himself in a particular conjunto, the interpretation of the dancer's embodied presence is to be made from this point of attachment. If we accept this, Hector's 'dream' of joining the FACLD could be interpreted as a projection of his own persona onto the values and prestige associated to the institution of his dreams: i.e. its high standards, sense of innovation, and international recognition. This shows that despite the importance of 'tradition' in official discourses, 'innovation' is also appreciated among dancers and a capacity for reinvention is sometimes what makes one conjunto stand out over the rest.

As suggested, the FACLD is usually perceived by its members and other authorities, as having brought in positive changes and a sense of evolution to the existing celebration, 'A less conservative, more updated version' (Hector M, in interview)[52], which – it is implied – would not have been possible without the introduction of a new social group: Oruro's elite. For Hector, with the incursion of those first members of the elite in the early 1940s, there was a clear sense of 'improvement' (in interview, 26 8 08), which in my interpretation equals modernisation. For Mario B., ex Dance director of the FACLD, 'the institutional

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[51] 'La Fraternidad goza de un prestigio justamente por esa escuela que se ha forjado, muy exigente, ¿no? Además debo comentarte que la Fraternidad es una de las diabladas que goza mucho peso y prestigio internacional, y ha sido causa de muchas innovaciones en la indumentaria del diablo.'

[52] 'Una vision más actualizada, no tan conservadora'

characteristic of the Frate [FACLD] is a sense of innovation, improvement, and the evolution [of Carnival], brought by in a tactful manner, without distortions' (in interview)[53]. The language used ('tactful', 'improvement without distortions') shows that ideas of taste operating as markers of class determine a group's social standing, differentiating them from those without it (Bourdieu 2000). These markers of 'distinction', according to Bourdieu, may also impede the group's social mobility.

Thus, I have identified an ideological discourse of social value in the testimony above, to the effect that certain social groups (i.e. artisans and non-elite Carnival makers previously in management of the festivity), are not regarded as capable of evolution as the elite. This belief is at the basis of Bolivia's widespread inequality, and everyday racist attitudes towards the indigenous, and particularly cholos, who having less obvious indigenous markers are still segregated on basis of having no 'class', 'taste' or 'education'. Indeed, stories of discrimination proliferate in the memories of certain conjuntos, as the invisibilisation of cholos and indigenous Carnival actors demonstrates.

Mario B. admits that in Oruro, upper middle class people participate more than the *artesanos* ('artisans'), and for him, that represents 'an evolution' (in interview). The group that founded the FACLD as it separated from the GTADO was the *pijes*, which stands for 'well-dressed'. For Mario B, the golden times of the FACLD are reproduced by the *Ñaupas* ('Old Devils'), a bloque made up of elite members, imitating the practices of the institution under the pijes, before it opened up to include young people from middle class backgrounds. Many a political figure from La Paz has been a member of this bloque. Their hierarchy and prestige is, according to its own members (Mario B, Jorge P, Hector M), expressed through their style of dancing and their outfits, which are considered to be the best in the institution – what distinguishes them from the rest – costing around US$600-700 each. Nowadays, the Ñaupas constitute the elite of the FACLD, he said, 'the highest hierarchy for dancers' (Mario B., in interview).

The GTADO were only too aware of their weaker positioning, as Don Marco, the leader of the Aniversario bloque, lamented: 'we are losing credibility [as a conjunto]'

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[53] 'La Frate es la institución que se carateriza por los cambios, la mejora y la evolución [del Carnaval] de manera delicada, sin distorsión'

referring to their lower numbers when compared to other Diabladas (in interview). The Doctorcitos and their unstable and low population seem to be nearer extinction each year – for popularity plays a strong role in terms of the financial stability of a conjunto, which in turn ensures its survival.

As the famous Morenada song says: '*Para bailar Morenada tienes que tener platita*' ('To dance the Morenada, you must have cash'). Oruro participants must have money, for principles of 'distinction' may impede social mobility at conjunto level too.

A conjunto's ability to attract sponsorship can make or break a conjunto, by increasing its visibility, or highlighting its absence from all the mediatory coverage of folkloric events. Visibility is key for becoming and remaining successful in the competitive world of Carnival dance troupes.

Mostly, they need money for the hire of music bands for the Carnival parade and rehearsals, and other overheads. In practical financial terms, this means fundraising for around US$ 20,000 to 30,000 for an institution such as the GTADO, according to Doña Blanca and Doña Esther (GTADO authorities).

Dancers must contribute to a large extent to the expenses by providing their own costumes and paying conjunto fees, but conjuntos still have to generate money in order to pay for the music and the catering of dancers after the parade, which are important Carnival traditions. For this, as well as charging conjunto fees, the contribution of a *pasante* is sought. The *pasante* is a sponsor-figure that takes care of a large portion of the investment for one year, before ritually passing on the responsibility to the next pasante. In exchange for increasing their prestige in the community, following traditional Andean notions of reciprocity and social hierarchy. Conjuntos that are prestigious and well established tend to have no problem finding a pasante, given their high profile. When a pasante is not found, conjunto authorities have to come up with creative ways to sustain the conjunto until a pasante is found for the following year, as had been the case for the GTADO a few years earlier (Doña Blanca, in interview, GTADO authority), and was the case for the Doctorcito Itos for 2008.

It is here necessary to calibrate the position of the Oruro festivity as Bolivia's most celebrated folkloric and religious spectacle, against average annual income per capita

of just US$1512 (just US$ 126 a month, INE 2009: 29). The cost to an individual for taking part annually in the Entrada is indeed wide-ranging, although it still represents a hefty amount for most Bolivians, and means that only certain layers of the population can dance. In the words of Frate dancer, Mario B, 'In Oruro, it is mostly the elite who dances' (in interview).[54]

Harris (1995) has observed that in Andean culture, the idea of festive expenditure has a role, which is to acquire the necessary means 'to communicate with the divine sources of power' and thus reproduce the community (p. 306). This might explain why some non-elite groups are still a part of the festivity, and the lengths they go to operate financially when financial sponsorship is not available. The GTADO members do not see themselves, and are not perceived by the majority, as members of the elite, as a result of their ethnic and social configuration. They finance their participation with support of their 'mother' institution, the UGM, through systems compliant with certain Andean ideas around local principles of reciprocity. The year of my fieldwork there was a 'very generous' pasante at the institution, by all accounts. He was an Orureño, the son of mañasos, who had moved abroad and had made a fortune as a businessman, so he explained, 'it was his turn to continue with the tradition' (Rodrigo R., personal communication).

In summary, conjuntos are bodies with social identities, and social distinctions between different social groups operate in individual choices when joining a conjunto. New dancers are influenced by their own preferences acquired as a result of the visibility and level of 'success' of a conjunto that place institutions like the FACLD in a sphere of what market researchers call 'desirability', and others like the Doctorcitos, or the GTADO, in the domain of backwardness and conservatism. Distinction principles operate at the level of conjunto too, so that conjuntos that are visibly less successful find it harder to survive in the contemporary economic sphere of carnival performance.

It follows that life in the conjunto also falls within the domain of representation, as conjuntos also operate as spaces from where individual and collective subjectivities

[54] 'En Oruro es la elite la que danza'.

can be projected—from the highly mediatised 'national stage' provided by the streets of Oruro onto the wider community via the ritual spectacle of Carnival.

Interventions from the government or outside forces over local traditions, is now a part of all communities, however small, be it through government heritage schemes, arrival of tourists, TV and media, demands of party politics, or extraction of natural resources, incorporating communities into a kind of global or national dimension (Guss 2000: 3). Actors, apart from their own preoccupations and agendas, have to respond to these as much as to any other project. The next section will explore the meetings, tensions and combinations that performers encounter as they attempt to negotiate the multiplicity of meanings in the festive with their own participation.

5.3 Negotiating Meaning, Discourses and Participation

Carnival actors in Oruro go beyond those involved in direct performance of dance and music. The media, the authorities, the audience, and even the street-sellers and advertising sponsors, all play their own significant roles in the compositions and configurations of meaning through the festivity. Beyond their own interests and motivations, performers have to juggle their performance and its relevance to them among different and sometimes competing forces.

Given the institutional position of the event, there is much concern with the mediatory powers of the festivity, and often-competing interests are at play (Guss 2000, García Canclini 1992). We have already discussed how joining a particular collectivity engages the subjectivity of the dancer in particular ways in terms of the relationship between self and community. In this section I wish to focus on the social drama of participation at individual level (that is the personal, physical and temporal investment that participation requires) based on my own experiences as a dancer at the GTADO, and contrast it with expectations placed on dancers by the audience and the media, and the homogenising cultural discourse produced by authorities.

To illustrate how these tensions and connections work at the level of performance, I propose to look at examples where the connections between the role of the audience, the discourses of authorities and individual participation, each with their own expectations and discourses, are at work. To do so, I shall look at the process of learning to dance.

5.3.1 Performing with the Body

The individual and embodied nature of Carnival performance is the result of physical preparation and endurance. Rehearsals for most conjuntos start one week after All Saints Day, with the *First Convite* (collective street rehearsal), a day long parade of the actual Carnival route which acts as general public rehearsal, which is then repeated at the Last Convite, the weekend before the parade.

Thus Oruro, for the three months before Carnival becomes a large stage of different conjuntos rehearsing at different corners of the city. These rehearsals become more regular and intense the closer the date of the parade. The level of frequency and dedication varies from conjunto to conjunto, and is linked to social expectations of each conjunto. Mendoza has argued elsewhere that approaches to the formation of dance troupes for festive events also make a comment on the values shared and supported by particular social groups, (Mendoza 2000: 220) as individuals show loyalties to transnational urban and cosmopolitan cultures, by dancing in comparsas that allow their dancing standards to match those of modernity's notions of spectacle. This premise shall guide the exploration of rehearsal practices at the GTADO and the FACLD.

Learning the choreography is accessible to most for the Diablada steps are not particularly acrobatic or elaborate, as with most popular culture dances. There is a pre-requisite of familiarity, in order to get the right nuances of the dance, that is all.

It does, however, require a minimum level of fitness, coordination and dedication, in particular if the conjunto in question is striving to 'even out' (*igualar*) all the choreographies. This characteristic adds to the popularity and prestige of the conjunto, and is applauded by the audience who often comment on a conjunto being more or less great to watch based on how 'even' their dancers were in performing the choreography ('*se los veía bien iguales',* 'they looked really even'). As a result, there are some conjuntos that take the physical preparation of the dancers very seriously, adding extra rehearsal days for the newcomers to be initiated, and penalising people who do not turn up at rehearsals. The FACLD is one such conjunto, and their formalized weekly rehearsals are managed to produce the spectacular choreographies, which the conjunto is well known for. Newcomers are taught the steps and moves of their style of Diablada in a separate Beginners lesson, followed by a common session

with everyone else where the choreographies are put together by their dance director (Hector M., personal communication). Beyond choreographic aspects, dancers use rehearsals to familiarize themselves with the style of their leader, the music and lyrics, to socialise, and to gain a general sense of the conjunto as a whole.

However, my initiation at the GTADO, rather than focused on choreography, seemed to be geared towards exercising presence and continuity. Most of my learning was done by 'doing things' whilst watching others in action, and asking questions. This was clearly the way other dancers in my bloque had learned. In their cases, as they were mostly mañaso-related and part of Carnival culture, they would have been dancing for many years, and were able to dance without too much concentration. I had to learn more or less from scratch. However, I didn't receive 'lessons' of any kind and nobody took me to one side to teach me stuff. During rehearsals, I was asked to join in the formation, and follow.

The main Diablada step is fairly straightforward. It consists of three high steps to one side, and three to the other, whilst changing direction with the upper body. All the conjuntos follow these basics. However, the differences emerge in the *prosa*. The 'prose' is the distinct corporal style and cadence that each Diablada conjunto has developed over the years that allows them to look different from any other Diablada conjunto, even though the same steps and figures are shared. The 'prose' of the Auténtica was explained to me by some of the older mañasos (Dario A and Pedro C, in interviews): when mañasos approach cattle before buying them, they stand in front of each animal and move from side to side, looking at the flanks of the animal to check for their deposits of fat just abase the legs (if there is fat there, the animal's meat will be better and there will be more of it). As they move from side to side and poke the animal's sides, the animal moves in the same way too, and this is how the sideways cadence of the mañaso prosa is claimed to have originated. How it evolved from the market to the dance is not elaborated, but this is what mañasos quote as the origin of their prosa: slightly crouching, moving the shoulders from side to side and lifting their feet not too high off the ground.

The prosa of the DAU includes jumping on each step, sometimes kicking. It is very dynamic and energetic, and as the conjunto has a large number of young people it can be quite acrobatic too. The prosa at the FACLD is much more erect, arms slightly

raised, and involves jumping high on the spot. One of the dancers told me that the movement ought to be 'elegant like a steed's' (Hector M., personal communication).

Whilst I had no difficulty in learning the basic step, the prosa was more difficult to produce. It was possibly easier for me to imagine a steed's way of moving than a cow's, because there is a 'common sense' view that 'steed' simply translates as 'elegance' and 'strength' (whereas cows emerge as 'docile', 'heavy'?). Presumably this is why the FACLD dancer explained their prosa in those terms. I reflected that steeds don't necessarily hold any close meaning for FACLD members (other than a generic sense of 'mythical elegance'), but by contrast, the prose of the mañasos represented a reflection of their trade, of their everyday occupation. As I was not familiar with the mañaso 'repertoire' of memories (Taylor 2003), dictated by their trade, experiences, and their one hundred years of Carnival dancing, their prosa didn't come 'naturally'. I had observed people from other conjuntos trying to imitate the mañaso prosa at social events, people from prestigious conjuntos, which often received praise for their capacity to dance in unison and their 'beautiful choreographies', trying to copy the ease of the elder mañasos, who seemed to float as they danced. Potter describes the learning curve of the dancer as an increasing sense of improving with practice, in terms of gaining 'freedom' (Potter 2008: 452). Being the oldest conjunto, the GTADO also has the most experience dancers.

Many of the traditions were first practiced by the GTADO (among some of the first conjuntos), by virtue of being the first. They have since been appropriated by other conjuntos to become 'official' Oruro Carnival traditions. The convites, the *rodeo* (ritualised money collection among conjunto members), the Saturday gatherings to honour the Virgin, among others, were first practiced by conjuntos whose members are no longer in charge of the management of the festivity. Some practices, though, remain in their original context like the mañaso prose, maybe as a result of being strongly connected to a particular subjectivity and set of practices, acting in reverse 'distinction' whereby social standing is not dictated by 'markers' but by experience.

There is clearly a discourse of authenticity at the heart of mañaso practices, which they themselves promote too. Their status as implementers of these 'original' traditions, may explain the certain ease in the way in which dance performance was approached, where the emphasis is placed on continuity rather than on the more

technical aspects of the performance. Rehearsals were not attended by all of its members and more spaced out than they were in other conjuntos. There was tolerance of conjunto members who missed rehearsals, as authorities expressed their understanding by the fact that their dancers have commitments like work or family matters[55] that do not allow them to turn up at every rehearsal, and many often turned up for the last two or three rehearsals. Consequently, choreographic displays in the parade were not as technically polished or as impact-making, as those seen in the newer conjuntos. Therefore, there was an element of unpredictability as to who will be there and what will exactly happen on the day of the parade.

This unpredictability would have been hard to combine with the more focused and competitive approach of institutions such as the FACLD. There, said one dancer, conjunto members may be penalized for not attending rehearsals (Beatriz, FACLD dancer, in interview). This is connected to their popularity with the audience as a 'technical' conjunto to watch, with standards matching modern ideas of spectacle.

In short, learning to dance requires time and dedication, and conjuntos approach rehearsals in different ways and with different agendas, depending on the identity of the conjunto and the expectations the audience places on them. I heard people often say that the Auténtica was not the most amazing ('impresionante') of the Diabladas in their performance, but they were loved for their 'shoulder dance' (*porque bailan con los hombritos*) and 'because they are the first' (*son los primeros*). Their distinctive movement, neither acrobatic nor too 'even' across conjunto members, was appreciated because it represented their role as pioneers of the tradition. This showed that the audience was using different criteria and standards to assess the different performers. In the flow and clash of discursive forces: spectacle, heritage, social projections, devotion, people make sense of things on an individual basis, weighing up each performative act in their heads against the charge of symbols, values and messages that are perceived as relevant for each context.

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[55] The average routine of a meat stall holder at one of Oruro's markets is, according to Doña Blanca, a 12 hour day seven days a week at the stall. Many of these are women, who combine their trade with attending to their duties as mothers and wives, that is cooking for the family and overseeing the business (Doña Blanca, GTADO authority and market meat stall holder, in interview). A large number of these women dance at the GTADO.

5.3.2 Under the Gaze of the Audience

The role of the audience is one of absolute prominence. However, unlike the passive audience of theatrical venues and other spectacles, the continuous interaction between the audience and the dancers and musicians – through singing, clapping, cheering, throwing water balloons, and sometimes dancing alongside us – creates a strong influence over the quality and dynamism of the parade. In Oruro, the audience is another dynamic actor in the performance, even though they may not be part of the actual visual and musical spectacle.

Figure 12. Audience watching the parade

The audience (see the audience during the GTADO performance in **Figure 12**) may shout compliments or orders to dancers as they advance, and dancers may fix their eyes on a particular person in the audience or look directly into a camera, as they dance for they react not just to the collective performance of the conjunto, but also to individual performers. They are there to watch, but it could be argued that their role is also to invigilate the delivery of Carnival performance each passing year, comparing this year to previous versions, ensuring that the right balance of standards and innovations is achieved, that faith is rightly conveyed, and that each component fulfils its particular role.

It has been argued that spectacle requires social drama (Boorstin 1961), and I would suggest that the social drama is the sacrificial aspect of the parade. I would like to explore this idea with regards to the sacrificial dimension of Carnival dancing.

The dimension of sacrifice starts, in my view, with the financial challenges of dancing in the parade. Individuals save all year to pay for the fee and costume acquisition that ensures participation, which is not always easy even among elite dancers. Performing in elite institutions like the FACLD can represent an investment of several hundred dollars. Beatriz explained that she had often thought of quitting dancing at the FACLD, because it was too expensive (in interview). She said that it was only the promise of becoming the leader of her bloque what made her stay and save money from her job as Executive Secretary at Oruro's Chamber of Industries. According to Mario B. (in interview, ex-GTADO dancer), who had been the guía of his bloque for many years, the position is highly regarded, for it is an explicit recognition of a dancer's antiquity and dedication. It is the most watchable position from the audience and the cameras that record the event to be projected by the media. However, getting there can take many years.

Dancers often speak of their dedication to the financial aspects (i.e. saving all year to be able to afford the expense), their costume investment, their progression in the conjunto, and their performance as a 'sacrifice'. Beatriz described how during the parade, one can be so tired, suffocated by the mask, but it is the thought of arriving at the feet of the Virgin that keeps you going (in interview). Dancers constantly refer to wearing the costume as an offering, this is why the Ñaupas pay so much attention and take so much pride in the quality of their costume, according to one of their dancers (Hector M.).

It is thus possible to affirm that in carnival performance, the drama is also in the ordeal of participation endured by the dancers. For Boorstin (1961), one of the features of the dramatic element of the spectacular event (more on this in the next section) is that the event must generate emotions and powerful moments for the audience to see (cited in MacAloon 2006: 29).

I can corroborate my own desire to stop at several moments of the parade, to take off the high-heeled boots and mask, which I didn't for fear of breaking the

tradition and coming across as 'weak'. Here are the notes I wrote in my ethnographic diary about my own experience of performing:

> Our route was smooth, the morning was clear and fresh, and the biggest challenge for me, as an apprentice, was to keep up with the rest of the bloque without taking off the mask. Performing has a sense of duty, as in 'the show must go on'; one knows one has to finish even if one has had enough. My feet hurt because of the very high heels most women dancers have to wear, and sometimes breathing through the tiny nose holes of the mask and having my vision semi-blocked by the fake eyelashes over the eye holes got quite claustrophobic. I was distracted from the discomforts by the audience, and my desire to connect with them through the dancing. Sometimes I only focused on the music, so as not to miss the beat which given my lack of experience, could have easily happened. Presumably for veteran dancers, the experience is much more focused on the interaction between the dancer and the audience, or between the dancer and the Virgin. Other times I could hear individual voices from the seats (*graderías*) shouting 'Well done, Chinas!', 'Dance, dance!', 'Don't stop!', 'That's how it's done!'. These were complete strangers, whose voices were very clear among the myriad of noises around, telling me what to do—and I, as performer, wanted to meet their expectations. They made me dance better, be more expressive with my body, smile harder. I noticed how some of my companions were not smiling, they seemed more introspective, following the rhythm of the music and the steps. Sometimes the beads of my sleeves would get tangled up with those of the pollera, so I couldn't dance properly, I had to just keep walking in time and try frantically with my hands to untangle the knot, all along feeling that theatrical pressure to 'continue the show'. I could have come to the side to do it, but I didn't dare pull out of the bloque.

The discomfort was genuine, and according to many dancers it is part of the 'sacrifice'. It could be argued that the ordeal of on the body adds to the drama of the parade by pushing dancers, for instance, to endure the mask from beginning to end as part of the show. There is no religious or ancient requirement for this to be so that any of my interviewees could recall.

Figure 13. Dancers in costume for Suri-sicuri, Devil and Pujllay dances

Some dancers choose to make their costumes heavier by adding larger than average masks, impossibly high heels or heavy ornaments to their costumes. The photos in **Figure 13** show three examples of the cumbersome costumes that dancers wear for the parade, either balancing things on their heads, wearing very large masks or large footwear. The GTADO are renowned for their heavy masks. For Dario A, who traditionally dances with a silver layer over his devil costume and a huge mask as did other members of his family, to wear a heavier costume is a reason for pride: '[It] shows the desire all my family have to elevate [the dance], to impress the audience' (in interview)[56].

This bodily dimension of the offering, performed under the gaze of the audience, gives the latter a cruder role. Their comments of approval or disapproval are what eventually determine both the popularity of a particular comparsa, and whether the expected 'standards' are complied to. They have a different dynamic to the media dimension, because their invigilating role goes back in time much longer, determining that norms and traditions are followed. For example, when our dancers were reaching the end of the parade, and the route turned uphill, many in our bloque stopped dancing, exhausted, and started to walk. Members of the audience shouted: 'Hey, dance! Keep dancing! Don't walk!!', reminding us not to 'drop the show' before the end. This anxiety reaches also institutional levels, as the ACFO will formally penalize a

[56] '[muestra] ese cariño en mi familia de elevar, de impresionar al público'.

conjunto if the flow of dancers is not constant, and a big 'gap' is felt in the performance, under the principle that the audience 'cannot be kept waiting'.

It is clear that the notion of 'offering' has a place in Andean religiosity, as we have previously discussed. The notion of 'sacrifice' however, which is the term that many people employ when referring to their dance performance, brings to mind images of Jesus Christ on the cross, and the writings of Foucault (1977) on the body as something conceived to be acted upon, controlled and disciplined.

In the parade, the idea of 'sacrifice' is used to convey a variety of meanings. Some people referred to their financial investment as a sacrifice (Hector M., FACLD), asserting that 'whatever you give she gives you back twofold' (Fernando C., DAU dancer, in interview). For others not drinking during the parade was their sacrifice (Jorge P.), or wearing a heavy mask or heavy costume (Dario A, GTADO). In all cases, it means self-inflicted difficulty or pain.

This dimension of performance, penitence, is not really present in official discourses of the parade. These do not speak of self-inflicted pain; they speak of the Virgin in terms of her being a maternal figure, a noble representation of the devotional character of Orureños.

However, away from academic discussions about the origins of the myths and the significance of Andean deities in Carnival symbols, organised by cultural authorities, the Church offers a different perspective of carnival performance, in which the notion of 'sacrifice' is present in the sermons they offer at the weekly conjunto gatherings they attend to inculcate Christian values at the more intimate level of the conjunto. This also illustrates that there are different dimensions of 'officialdom' in operation in Oruro. On the one hand, we have the Church of the Mineshaft and their Catholic agenda, then there are the cultural authorities that work at government level such as the Mayor's Cultural Officer and the Regional Government (*Prefectura*) officers who help coordinate the event, and then there is the ACFO that represents the conjuntos. From what I observed, these bodies tend to work together in many aspects of the festivity on the understanding that their shared role is to safeguard, coordinate and promote the high profile of the festivity as a signifier of something larger, but occasionally the agenda or standards of each group may pull in different directions.

The next section will explore the relationship between the dynamics of performing, power, and standards through a discussion of tradition and innovation.

5.3.3 Between Spectacle and Rite

Performing in the parade also entails engaging in a dialogical relationship with other performances of Carnival around the world. As large street festivals and Carnivals are increasingly mediatised around the world, new global standards are set with each new transmission, on aesthetic and logistic levels. The managers of local performative practices, under the influence of these trends, attempt to match their standards and expectations. This results in regional projections of global ideas of modernity, beauty, and tradition, which expose different interpretations of those ideas among the makers of such events, and exclude local elements perceived as negative.

In Oruro, the line between which innovations are acceptable and which are not is never clear-cut. Sometimes innovations are referred to as 'distortions' and 'aberrations' that damage the cultural heritage content of the dance. Others are seen as positive innovations, approved of by authorities, which make the dance 'evolve' and 'work in harmony with the essence of the festivity' (in the words of Ascanio Nava, in interview). More often than not, I would suggest, these distinctions operate within larger power discourses that work to keep the status quo in the hands of the powerful.

Both ritual and spectacle conflate in Carnival. The gathering of people around masses, veladas, and *ch'allas*; the blessings of the workplaces and houses, the pilgrimages to the Snake and the other *w'akas*, are all rites performed at specific times, rather privately, and under the veil of ceremony and tradition (although that line is at times crossed, as conjuntos welcome media crews in their most private rituals to take part in news reportages or documentary films). It could be argued, however, that the parade has become a spectacle in that nowadays it surpasses ritual and ceremonial constraints imposed by tradition and local beliefs.

Appropriating Boorstin's definition of spectacle (in Taylor and Harris 2008: 116), I would say that spectacular events become sites of consumption, centred on the visual, which are originally produced to be reproduced and depicting particular versions of reality (as dramatic and self-referential). One of the basic concepts to understand

when thinking of spectacle, according to Debord (1977), is that of commercialization – or the process of pricing some of the elements or the totality of a thing for a market.

For Debord, commodification is fulfilled in the spectacle, 'where the tangible world is replaced by a selection of images which exist above it, and which simultaneously impose themselves as the tangible par excellence' (Debord in Taylor and Harris 2008: 114). This is the definition of Debord's 'false totality', centred on the media and the visual as defining factors for what passes as reality in the context of the spectacular (Debord 1977, in Taylor and Harris 2008: 120). To sustain this proposal, the author argues that the media – in its reach, which is both global and intimate – has the ability to structure, permeate and determine everyday life, social relations, and individual desires, making the individual a 'relay station, a medium among media' (cited in Taylor and Harris 2008: 108).

One perspective would be then, that the commodification of the parade started to take place as processes of transformation and appropriation of the celebration in order to construct a Bolivian cultural identity were put in motion post 1940s, when the upper and middle classes saw there an opportunity to capitalize on the incorporation of symbols of indigeneity 'into the ideal imageries of the nation' (Araoz 2003: 50). This would explain the passage of the parade from cholo ritual to representation of national identity.

In its contemporary version, the historical context for the ritual is minimized as the choreographic and visual aspect of the parade is highlighted in order to increase its spectacular appeal, as the parade is watched today by a large population of visitors and new consumers. For the many outsiders who are more inclined to take in the choreographic and colourful display, the event (although charged with ritual and historical significance for dancers and local Orureños) becomes an 'empty form' (MacAloon 2008: 20): that is, an abstract and decontextualised display, which is read outside any known historical context by most people present. They know little of the ancient religiosity of the location, they cannot 'read' the symbols embroidered onto the costumes by the costume-makers, they are mostly unaware of historical connections to present-day mining rites, or the private rituals offered by the mañasos, where they eat the dishes made with recipes passed on from their 'ancestors'. To them, it is a display that inundates the senses with a cacophony of sound, visuals,

accompanied by smells and tastes around the side streets, possibly with a very distinct feel when compared to other large festival experiences, but still emptied of the cultural and historical worth that many Orureños attribute to it.

This perspective serves to explain the transformation from ritual to spectacle in the 1940s, which de-rooted the festivity from its original social context. However, contemporary debates about innovation and tradition demonstrate that a preoccupation for the 'authentic' character of the festivity is still there, although the line between 'commercial' and 'authentic' is not always clearly drawn. I shall illustrate the complexity of this issue with a discussion of carnival costumes.

One of the most eagerly anticipated aspects by the audience of the Oruro carnival is what the dancers will wear. In my own experience, the issue of the costume preparation was one that my bloque dedicated more time to than actual rehearsal time.

There is a link between the choice of 'how' to embody the fiesta (the choice of social identity) and the popularity of a conjunto, to be found in ideas of what looks 'cool' and 'beautiful', not just in terms of the dance but also in terms of the costume. This is particularly evident when attracting younger dancers, the most numerous in the fiesta. It is here when the tension between tradition and innovation becomes apparent, and serves to illustrate ideas of representation and how the self is projected and received by the gaze of the audience via the display of the body.

As China Supay dancers of the bloque Aniversario we designed our own costume, mostly with ideas by the lead female. She organised informal meetings where she proposed ideas on the final look of the costume, based on her own ideas and magazine cuttings, following both current fashion trends and Carnival 'traditions' around imagery, materials and colours.

We took great lengths to get the right look while trying not to overspend. We hunted for the right material and clippings around the city, along with thousands of other female Carnival dancers, and found the artisans that could put them together. In the end we received very favourable comments from the other bloques in the GTADO, and the other conjuntos. Our costume can be seen in **Figure 14**.

Figure 14. China Supay costumes in Bloque Aniversario

I would like to focus on one item from our costume, the pollera. During one of our preparatory sessions, as I was trying it on, my husband joked, 'is that a skirt or a belt?' The pollera of our bloque was indeed very short – we had to wear large matching underwear to cover our real and very visible underwear.

'Pollera' is also, of course, the name of the indigenous skirt worn by urban indigenous women all around the Andean region. In Oruro, the pollera worn by cholas tends to cover the leg down up to the knee, and is complemented by a long-sleeve top, a carrying shawl over the back, a hat, and the woman's hair is plaited. The China Supay's costume reassembles the chola dress in many ways, as it has more or less the same items of clothing. However, the shape, size and function of these vary considerably between the two outfits. The festive outfit of the China Supay is of course much more flamboyant, made up of synthetic, shiny materials, and heavily accessorized with Carnival symbols (the snake, the toad, and other mythological images). Our dancing pollera no longer served to cover our legs, or to guard them from the cold; by coming up high, our legs were fully on display as they mounted up from inside the high-heeled boots. This made the legs seem longer; and we also wore tight stockings to contain any signs of flabbiness. The waist was reshaped by the

blouse which had a special tailoring system, which our bloque insisted on having, to give us a flat stomach and a long and thin waist.

With the transformations made to the chola dress, the China Supay dancer's body was reshaped and became ready to project an 'improved' embodied identity that matches global ideas of beauty, femininity, and youth, whilst its configuration around the chola outfit kept it within the framework of 'authenticity', as it is the attire that characterizes the indigenous women of the highlands.

The notion of 'empty form' (MacAloon 2008: 20), although initially conceived for global mega-productions such as sports competitions (i.e. the Olympic Games) may also be applied to cyclical rituals like Rio and Oruro, that hope to attract commercialization and popularity, as they are consumed and 'spread unevenly through any culture and across cultures and social segments' (MacAloon 2008: 20). Here, the resignified pollera – no longer a historic symbol of cholo and indigenous resistance to 'modernise' and adopt mestizo ways – becomes a modern attribute of the Carnival performer, open to commodification. It could be argued that with this festive appropriation, the pollera entered the realm of symbols that constitute branded representations of culture (i.e. Andeanness, Latin culture), as they grow standardised and globalised.

With the projection of Oruro as Bolivia's showcase of national identity and cultural wealth through the global context of UNESCO, possibilities for the commercialization of 'tradition' increase in the shape of opportunities for business and international visitors who come to experience a 'once-in-a-lifetime' holiday. These symbols serve to embody an 'Otherness' in 'full public view' in order to profit from what makes them different in the global market – as part of the 'identity industry' described by Comaroff and Comaroff in their study of the commodification of 'exotic' ethnicities (2009: 24).

Ideas of cultural heritage emerge at the centre of these dynamics, because the appeal to tradition is necessary to ensure a sense of continuity to primogenital forms and narratives, which guarantee a respectable place for the individual in question within the framework of 'preservation of cultural heritage' that rules Carnival organization and management. Conversely, wearing the *actual* chola dress in the Andes by non-cholas can be seen as negative. Confirming Bourdieu's postulates on the

boundaries of social identity and its markers, I have witnessed how 'respectable' families become ashamed if one of their offspring adopts any of the 'cholo' items, in any other context outside of the festive. They are made uncomfortable by the 'transgression' of *status quo* racial and social categories. Rivera's discussion around the *indio permitido* (permitted indigeneity) serves to illustrate here how in certain contexts it is acceptable and even useful to appeal to the nation's indigenous legacy and contributions, and when in others indigeneity becomes a symbol of backwardness, savagery and regression, the *indio prohibido* (or forbidden forms of indigeneity) and becomes a space of rejection.

With regard to the China Supay costume, what stays the same as the chola dress and what changes – moving between tradition and innovation – is eloquent and symbolic of more concrete ideological discourses. Certain 'traditions' or cultural forms are needed for ideological projects, so they are preserved and highlighted, even commodified, acquiring meaning away from their original contexts. For instance, most dancers have to wear long braids, which more often than not means buying hair extensions from cholas and indigenous women. Other forms, less relevant for the discursive projections, have to disappear or adapt, like the shortening pollera that no longer serves to cover from the cold, and now projects new and different meanings about femininity, beauty, and permitted cultural legacies.

Guss (2000) exposes the level of intervention from governments and other external forces over local traditions, whose localness comes into question, once they become 'embroiled in a much greater flow of national interests' (2000: 3). As modernity and technological innovations dominate the cultural landscape, local traditions are regarded as vestiges of a lost and disappearing world, which can only be accessed through the conservation and accessibility programmes of museums, tourism, or other heritage management related areas (Guss 2000: 4). The flexibility about ideas of innovation in these types of institutional frameworks though is rather limited. Thus, the concept of transgression is often in the air when discussing the changeability of culture in the context of institutional cultural heritage.

In an academic seminar about the Devil dance, one of the presenters, a well-respected editor and historian of Oruro representing a cultural institution created to safeguard folkloric practices in the region (Comité de Etnografía y Folklore), spoke of

how people have to understand that when they make distortions to the dance or make 'unfounded' innovations to the costume (meaning, without the backing of scientific research), 'they are damaging the Masterpiece' ('están haciendo daño a la obra maestra'), in reference to the award given to the Oruro Carnival as Masterpiece of World Intangible Cultural Heritage (Comité de Etnografía y Folklore presentation, Oruro, 2007). The connotations of 'masterpiece', usually reserved for finite and 'untouchable' museum pieces, to refer to a living and evolving tradition such as the danced parade are dangerous because they imply that the cultural expression in question must be left untouched in its 'perfection', frozen. The expression's capacity to evolve and produce new meanings is not sufficiently considered. As a result, many among the experts and authorities perceive innovations as highly suspicious since, in their view, without a good 'foundation', innovations can all too easily become transgressions.

It is interesting to see that the official discourse of 'safeguarding the masterpiece' does not extend to every aspect of the Carnival. In terms of our costume, for instance, and the evolving shape of our pollera for the China Supay, the only person who seemed to object the noticeably smaller size of our polleras was my husband. Not a single authority said anything about this 'unfounded innovation', and clearly we were not the only ones whose polleras had become shorter in recent years, as can be noted in the costumes of the Caporales female dances in the same year, in **Figure 15**.

Figure 15. Caporales female dancers

A long pollera that once resembled the chola outfit is still worn by other bloques in the GTADO, particularly those made up by people still in the meat trade, but most newer, mixed bloques, like our own, adhere to innovations dictated by global fashion trends. The audience, the ultimate judge of the conjunto's performance, tend to applaud these innovations and make positive comment on the 'gorgeousness' of the women dancers, and the 'retouched' representation of the feminine body of the Bolivian woman is seen in a very positive light as a result (although the more conservative sectors might offer resistance at times)[57].

However, and despite the temptation, it would be simplistic to affirm that viewpoint that polleras have become no more than 'empty forms'. García Canclini (1992) has observed that in the symbolic market, modernisation has meant not that older expressive forms have been replaced, or become 'empty', but instead that they carry new meanings, and that these are no longer found in traditional (or 'standard') places (1992:30). In Oruro, it is the dancers who approach the *artesano* (name used in the context of Oruro to refer to all Carnival craft-makers and artisans) with ideas and

[57] Mendoza (2000) describes how young women dancing in newer dance troupes in Cuzco preferred dancing wearing shorter polleras, whereas the older dancers in more traditional dance troupes wore longer polleras.

designs, they choose materials they can afford, and follow contemporary fashion trends of global pop culture.

Instead, I would argue that this continuous connection with the outside world, beyond the festive and mythical world of Carnival, brought closer by migration or the media, is a hugely rich source of ideas for Carnival arts, giving place to what García Canclini has called 'intertwined economies, intersecting social systems, and fragmented personalities' (1992: 40), challenging traditional notions of 'community' (attached to territory, singled-out), and 'centre-periphery'.

As affirmed by García Canclini (1992), although traditional patrimony may be the responsibility of the State, modern culture is increasingly the responsibility of private bodies (1992: 34). Therefore I would suggest that in the case of Oruro, it is better to imagine the possibility of new spaces opened through cultural performance (Mendoza 2000), rather than to underestimate the powers of the festival as a commodified space. Nonetheless, the conditions in which these negotiations are taking place indicate that the new 'openings' are not created without struggle, as I shall demonstrate in terms of the control exercised over aspects of the parade.

I would argue that official authorities regard the parade as a body to be turned 'docile' (Foucault 1977: 136). According to Foucault, a docile body 'is one that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved' through discipline: that is through control and punishment (Foucault 1977: 136). 'Carnivalesque' excess is banned in the Saturday parade. Attempts to control the parade by drafting regulations and penalties for those conjuntos that fail to comply, minimize the presence of spontaneity in the performance, as instructions are given about the costume, the number of dancers and musicians, the religious ceremonies to be included and the symbols of national identity to be incorporated into each of the dances. National pride is not optional. It must be clearly stated on the bodies of dancers; it must be embodied not just in the movement, but also a visual symbol, easily picked up by cameras and communicated to distant eyes. Patriotism must be displayed by conjuntos, when seeking social prestige, as the projection of the self must be accompanied by the projection of the nation in the eyes of outsiders.

Yet, as with other forms of cultural performance (Guss 2000), the parade is also a site of struggle, for many of the regulations are ignored, and although the official

discourse presents the idea of a solemn sacred pilgrimage, the reality is quite different. The 'illusion' of the spectacle is often broken by the presence of dancers performing without masks on Saturday (banned), people drinking in the parade (also banned), and generally going about their business irrespective of the regulations.

For instance, on Sunday I observed that our bloque had increased by two members, who were not wearing the same costumes as the rest. These girls, who had been placed in the middle of the bloque, were shouting and dancing with along everyone else, although they had never been to any of the rehearsals or the Oath to the Virgin. Days later, when I enquired, I found out that they were relatives of Don Marco, who unable to afford a new costume, and had danced wearing a China costume from a previous year. It struck me that the leader had not introduced them (although it is clear that they may already have known everyone else apart from me), and had not called much attention to their presence. However, despite the regulations and risking a penalty, they were not excluded on the basis that costume did not match the rest of ours, and were able to participate in the celebration along with everyone else, although keeping a lower profile: i.e. on Sunday, away from the front row, when most of the cameras have left, and the ACFO officers are less sober in order to monitor the transgressions. Conjuntos may sometimes break the rules and bend the norms, in order to combine their own internal interests with the requirements that nationalist ideologues have placed on Carnival parade participation.

5.4 Conclusion

From a myriad of angles for approaching festive performance, I have chosen to focus on the relationship between meaning and representation, engaging in analysis of some the subjective processes that performers undergo with their participation in dance performance in Oruro.

There are tensions between the issues of representation that emerged from the previous chapter, and dance performance as a changing and subjective experience, allowing for the possibility of becoming: becoming a dancer under oath to the Virgin, a mañaso devil, a member of an elite institution such as the FACLD, a symbol of the nation, of tradition, or of modernity. Processes of representation are still at play, but

under the influence of the subjectivity of the dancer, changing in shape and significance.

This exploration of the performative dimension of cultural performance reveals that beyond the transmissive properties assigned to the parade in official discourses, being in a Carnival conjunto involves particular ways of learning, performing, and approaching others as a social being that are generative of meaning, cultural and social processes and relations for its actors (Guss 2000, García Canclini 1992). The polyphonic dimension of the festive (Bakhtin 1984 [1965]), suppressed by official discourses, emerges with strength at this level, as a product of the interconnectedness among the different actors, and their sometimes competing interests, which include performers, the audience and media, as well as institutional, corporate, and religious bodies.

Through an exploration of the Devil dance, I observed that the racial, hierarchical, socioeconomic, and ethnic identities of dancers in conjuntos are wide-ranging, However there are structures in place that determine who can partake, how visible they will be, and on what terms, which often operate according to established power configurations.

However, Carnival performance also creates new meanings and relations as dancers strive to negotiate their participation through different discursive and structural forms whilst matching their own interests and needs, for instance in terms of adapting or transforming ideas of innovation and tradition to engage with modernity and heritage discourses through the festive.

García Canclini (1992) observed that the modernisation of traditional forms did not necessarily signify lack of meaning, but the emergence of new meanings. This important point is the substance of the next chapter: the story of how those spaces opened by Carnival performance can be turned into spaces to contest discrimination and invisibility in the processes of transmission of national memory, and turn them into opportunities to attain cultural and political recognition.

6. Racialisation of Culture, Imagination and the Politics of Recognition

My point of departure for this chapter is that the invisibility of urban and rural indigenous actors is a product of the racialisation of culture and the politics of representation. In Chapter 4 I identified a process of appropriation and formalisation of cultural expressions associated with the State as representative of the nation. This process of selection of what practices become embedded in nationalist discourses are informed by structures of racial domination, whereby certain characteristics of indigeneity are perceived as appropriate in the context of heritage management of folkloric practice. This coincides with the notion of 'indio permitido' (permitted indigeneity) (Hale 2004).

In this Chapter, I shall look at how these discourses have in practical terms affected the visibility of particular actors of the festive in terms of national representation, either by superimposing a different subjectivity over them, or by erasing their contribution from visible forms of memory. The theoretical discussion will centre around two main concepts: race and representation. I shall also look at festive performance as an opportunity to counter-act discrimination through the possibilities of performance (discussed in Chapter 5) and the politics of recognition, to attain a more complete identity.

The appropriation of urban and rural indigenous practices by the elites taking part in the Oruro Carnival, bring the projection of an imagined and archaic indigenous identity, over the rejection of many other elements of present-day indigeneity. Discourses of the past in Oruro, although acknowledging the contribution of ancestral indigenous culture, systematically reject any recent-past or modern-day contribution of indigenous actors. I have called this process the 'eclipse of the Indian' in honour of Dussel's interpretation of the Conquest and the inauguration of modernity as leading 'universal' epistemology, as the 'Eclipse of the Other' (Dussel 1992)[58]. My departing premise is that the lack of visibility of some key Carnival actors in representations of national heritage in Oruro is a result of the racialization of culture.

First, I shall explore what is meant by the racialisation of culture, as the legacy of colonial configurations of the population based on the notion of 'race', to its transformations into a more cultural dimension in use in contemporary Bolivia which impacts on the representative dimension of the fiesta.

Then, I shall discuss the significance of representation in this context, and how identity becomes shaped, enhanced or reduced by processes of representation of national memory in the context of Carnival, with regard to the invisibility of certain actors as a result of racialised reductive projections over them. Once the importance of recognition is established, I shall examine different strategies in the festive to counter-act the above processes, such as the recovery of memory.

6.1 Race, Representation and the Subject

For Stuart Hall (1997b), it is discourses, not the subject who speaks and produces knowledge (p. 55). He observed that meaning emerges from things as we 'arbitrarily' assign concepts to signs, which operate through language, and other 'texts' from body language, to clothes, music or any other media capable of expressing media, in a system of shared codes and social conventions (1997b: 21). Representation then works on the premise of shared recognition: that there are certain pre-learned elements that

[58] I have used all quotes from Dussel's *El encubrimiento del Otro: Hacia el orígen del mito de la Modernidad* (1992), where the word 'eclipse' doesn't appear. 'Eclipse' is the word used in the English translation of this work (Dussel 2005, this is the English version), which is what I have borrowed when needed to translate from the original word in Spanish, 'encubrimiento'.

stand for a 'thing' or concept (1997b: 17). The meaning, constructed in systems of representation, enables individuals to functions 'as culturally competent subjects' (1997b: 22). Foucault (1977) noted that in particular historical contexts, those with more power had the ability to produce knowledge in particular ways through discourse which served to regulate social conduct and practices. Foucault's discursive approach to representation is relevant to the context of Oruro, as a post-colonial site.

Said (1993), writing of imperial relations between the West and the Orient, observed that culture, as a source of our identity, can sometimes operate as a 'protective enclosure', establishing the boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. In his study of *Orientalism*, he described the Western imaginary of the 'Orient, in the context of imperial relations, as an 'elaboration' based on observation and 'a whole series of interests' (Said 2003 [1978]: 26). For him, Orientalism did not describe so much the material, geographical, political, and cultural reality of the Orient; it could not been seen to represent the Orient; but instead, it was because of Orientalism that the Orient 'was not a free subject of thought or action' (Said 2003 [1978]: 25). It was a component of imperial project of the Occident over the Orient (Said 2003 [1978]).

On the other hand, Fabian observed that the notion of 'primitive' is a temporal concept of Western thought used to establish distance between the self and a cultural 'other' (2002: 18). The 'temporalisation' of cultures, he explains, assigns meanings to the 'distribution of humanity in space' based on ideas of the linearity and progressiveness of natural evolution. The principle for the temporalisation of the 'other' is the 'denial of coevalness', that is the impossibility of seeing the 'other' in the same time we occupy (2002: 25).

I find that all these are relevant debates for the analysis of difference in the racialised world the Oruro carnival. It implies that there are productive processes taking place in the relevant 'regimes of truth' constructing both an 'Other' and the pre-assigned meanings to go over the 'Other'. I would like to apply some of these ideas to the field of the festive in the Andes, to reveal how festive actors speak of the other and for the other in racialised and temporal ways terms, to determine how those emerging notions of difference has impacted over issues of representation.

6.1.1 The Racialisation and Temporalisation of Culture

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) notes in her study of the implications of imperial research that from the colonial perspective, one of the supposed features of primitive peoples was their inability to use their minds: an intrinsic inability to use resources, land, contribute with institutions, inventions, unable to appreciate 'art'. It implied, says Tuhiwai Smith, that being indigenous was not being 'fully human' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 25). 'Being human' had power connotations in imperialist discourse. According to the scientific racism of Meiners [1787] each race possessed biological, behavioural and qualitative characteristics, which made some closer to the animal kingdom. Black people and 'Americans' (meaning indigenous Americans), were deemed to have smaller brains, a sturdy physique, and coarse tastes. This made them less than humans and better equipped for hard physical work (Meiners 1787, quoted by Jahoda 2007: 25).

Although the discursive use of the concept of race is still used in the Andes to deal with indigenous people, it is no longer dependent on phenotypical characteristics attribute to race by scientific racism. De la Cadena has observed that 'race' in the Andes, having transcended the initial biological approach to 'difference' that framed it, is the result of historical 'networks of conceptual elaborations' that include notions of class, family name and reputation, educational background, social connections, among others (2007: 9). Oliart identified five different governance models applied by the State covering from the colonial period until today to deal with indigenous peoples, all of which have influenced how differentiating concepts such as race are conceived and applied: from race as a colonial episteme, to then its inclusion into the liberal/conservative framework of the post-independence period, to the transmutation of race into 'class' of the national popular period of the twentieth century, to neoliberal attempts to integrate racial difference into the market (Oliart 2002). Instead, as she pointed out, everyone has been incorporated to each historical context, and all belong to discourses, which have not replaced one another, but all coexist at any one time (Oliart 2002: 8).

This racialisation of culture makes it possible for the assimilated Indian to turn into a mestizo, and if wealthy, the same individual could also turn into a criollo, as shown in the 'path' traced by Don Simón Iturri Patiño, who started life as a poor miner and an

indigenous mestizo in a small province of Cochabamba in the 19th century, and whose descendants married into European royalty in the 20th century.

In the politics of racialised culture, as explained by De la Cadena, elite groups believe that

> national evolutionary differences separated Indians from the rest of the nation, in as much as they represented a nonrational, essentially illiterate, and non-Spanish speaking racial/cultural group of rural, communitarian agriculturalists (2000: 308).

In Oruro too this view represents the dominant definition of indigeneity, or 'Indianness'. Many of the people I interviewed, when prompted to talk about their own ethnicity, said that they considered themselves 'mestizos', including those in the elite institutions, as well as those in the smaller conjuntos. The term 'Indian', in the context of debates of the festive in Oruro, was only used to refer to those who performed 'autochthonous dances' in the rural entradas that are also performed in the city, such as the *Anata* or the *J'acha Carangas*. They are envisaged as people from more remote communities, who dress and live in a parallel world of agricultural self-subsistence and colourful hand-made clothes, unlike the urban worldly performers of the Carnival parade. The latter would normally see themselves as mestizos, or maybe as something other, but rarely as 'Indians', and officially the two 'types' of parades (i.e. 'autochthonous' and 'folkloric') are placed at a considerable distance from one another. The 'autochthonous' parades do not feature in the extensive touristic Oruro literature, for instance.

From what I observed, race still plays a role in creating hierarchical divisions amongst the actors of the festive. Racial interpretations of local culture deem one set of practices 'acceptable' whilst a similar practice is perceived as 'inappropriate' by those involved in the production of hegemonic discourse. I shall illustrate the notion of 'racial alterity' with different interpretations of festive drinking.

Oruro's festive period contains a number of danced parades. Without a doubt, the Oruro Carnival parade is the largest of them all, but there are a number of parades of recent emergence (called *anatas*) in the urban space organised by rural community groups that are also of great significance. I shall focus on one of them in the next section. However, for the purposes of the present discussion, I will briefly say that these parades bring agriculture and fertility rituals traditionally performed in rural

contexts to the urban space of Oruro in a display of dances, music and festive performances of Andean religiosity. What is novel about these rural parades is that they display practices associated with a discourse of 'pre-coloniality' within the modern urban environment of Oruro, that is portraying the contrast between the predominantly rural rituals and forms of the jallupacha celebrations, and the more modern-looking Carnival parade.

Researchers and authorities are always keen to establish the ancestral character of the Carnival parade in reference to other festivities around the country that have emerged in more recent years (i.e. the Gran Poder feast of La Paz). The parade's pre-Hispanic ancestry is also an important tenet of the UNESCO award, and was highlighted in the bid in numerous ways (ACFO 2008). However, the source of the 'ancestry' of the parade is usually located in mythical peoples as we discussed in Chapter 4, rather than through any connections to expressions of pre-colonial practices maintained by indigenous actors. The issue of drinking illustrates this point.

Alcohol consumption during the festive period is vast. After noon on Carnival Saturday the whole area around the Carnival route smells of urine, and people find the most strange spots of 'privacy' for relieving themselves, such as against house doors or lamp posts. This is not an issue the authorities like, as they constantly remind dancers that the solemn character of the pilgrimage does not allow for drunkenness. However, Paceña beer is the main sponsor, and beer is sold in hundreds of stalls along the route. Local researchers, on the other hand, often bring up 'the religious and cultural character of drinking' in Oruro (Revollo 2003: 107, my translation)[59] as an ancestral practice, to refer to drinking in Carnival. Harris (1989) also identified a sacred dimension in festive drinking among Aymara speakers in Northern Potosi. The issue of ritual drinking deserves considerable more examination than the scope I can offer in this analysis; however it was necessary to establish that although alcohol consumption is not always met with approval in Carnival, it is also encouraged in other ways.

However, for more indigenous displays of 'ritual drunkenness' the situation is different. When the rural parades (to which I will dedicate a section later) engage in festive and ritual drinking in the streets of Oruro, they are met with more explicit

[59] See also Harris 1989, Allen 2002 for research on ritual drunkenness in the Andes.

disapproval. The religious authorities at the Church of the Mineshaft do not to open the doors of the temple to welcome the rural indigenous dancers that bring their own danced parade. This is on the basis that they 'drink too much' and 'urinate outside the temple's door' (Fray Mauro, in interview). This must be the only day in the year when the Church closes its doors.

As I explained, the issue of street urination is a big issue for all of the celebrations around Carnival time, including the main parade, and particularly so around the Church as it is the 'festive arena' of the city. However, the church only closes its doors for the Anata Andina parade. This issue might be solved with the installation of removable public toilets around the city, thus accommodating the respect due for cultural heritage – i.e. ritual drunkenness – and issues of hygiene and public health. Instead, the reason for the segregation of Anata dancers is placed on the inherent backwardness and lack of hygiene of indigenous actors, as race 'entangles issues of class, cleanliness, and national character' (Colloredo Mansfeld 1998: 188).

The rejection of indigenous actors in the festive space is also echoed in the reluctance of cultural authorities to give credit to those other festive practices in terms of the cultural wealth of the region, by not including them in the UNESCO bid. This situation also extends to the visibility of parade actors considered as 'cholos', because of an imagined proximity to 'indianness' implicit in the term. The heritage and contributions from those groups are dismissed when elite dancers refer to the incursion of the elites in the Oruro carnival parade since the 1940s as an 'improvement' (Mario B., in interview) from the 'unevolved' practices of '*grupos artesanos*' ('groups of artisans', i.e. people who occupy low-paid manual positions).

As we have seen in Chapter 4, mestizaje discourses attempt to focus on the capacity of the festivity to transform cultural and racial difference into a homogenised unifying voice. However, the categorisation of some dancers as '*ese sector*' ('those people'), or '*artesanos*', and of others as '*pijes*'[60] and '*gente decente*' ('decent people')

[60] Pijes was the nickname given to the first group of young men that joined in the Diablada de los matarifes, in the early 1940s. When I asked what pije means to a number of dancers, they said: 'well-dressed' (Armando Y, president of the Doctorcitos, in interview), 'well-educated' (DA, GTADO dancer, in interview), 'decent' (Hector M and Mario B, FACLD Ñaupa dancers, in interview)

– these are the terms that many Carnival dancers still employ – are immersed in racial dichotomies that promote and represent difference.

In the next section, I shall examine the relationship between difference and visibility through an examination of how imaginaries of heritage are subjectively constructed around notions of difference.

6.1.2 Systems of Difference, Regimes of Truth

Difference matters because of power, according to Hall (1997a: 234). This comes from Saussure's assertion that difference matters because without it meaning could not exist (Saussure 1960, quoted by Hall 1997a: 234). In Hall's discussion on the representation of difference, he observes that 'otherness' in (racial or other) is often represented through stereotyping (Hall 1997a: 226). Here, visual representation takes centre-stage, making meaning potential within images. Stereotyping works as a binary form of representation, whereby there are opposed meanings (determined by context) in the same sign, but one is the better option (Hall 1997a: 235): black/white, Indian/white or mestizo, rural/ urban or 'civilised', decent/indecent or 'vulgar'. Thus, stereotyping representation is not just about saying something about people in question, but saying also something about the qualities of their otherness (Hall 1997a: 230). In Bolivia, I would argue, the 'otherness' of indigeneity is perceived as irrelevant and undesirable, as I shall demonstrate.

When speaking of the rural parades, Oruro cultural and religious authorities tend not to refer to them in neutral terms. Instead, the focus is on their 'Otherness', and on how as 'Indians', they get drunk and spoil the city for the tourists and for 'real Orureños' (as I have often heard people say) alluding to ideas of decency and propriety. Hobsbawm (1994 [1983]) noted in his study of 'invented traditions' that often practitioners and managers of 'invented traditions' created separations among existing practices according to social strata or other means of differentiation among the social groups involved. In Oruro cultural authorities often refer to Carnival dances as 'folkloric' and rural dances as 'autochthonous' marking the difference in terms of the quality and type of delivery. This places them also in a position of difference in terms of their spectacularity and appeal, which puts them in different cultural spaces. As mentioned earlier, the indigenous parades are not promoted in the festive calendar of activities prepared by the cultural authorities.

Yet in the discourse of heritage, indigeneity is seen as an essential component of the mix, as exposed by one of the makers of the UNESCO bid:

> The origin of the Oruro Carnival is embedded in the ancestral mysticism of the Uru-Andean inhabitants of the region. "Carnival" was preceded by expressions of Uru religiosity, such as primitive rites for the domestication of llamas, the hunting of the taruka (Andean deer), the rites for the Tiw [Tío], and those basically known as *anatas* or planting feasts that are part of the agricultural celebrations of Andean cosmovision (Nava 2004: 12, my emphasis and translation)[61].

Cecilia Mendez has noted that, in nationalist constructions of post-independence Peru, the glorification of the Inca past came complemented by the contempt of present-day Indians (Mendez 1996: 24). Likewise, in the extract above, there are explicit connections between today's Carnival and 'ancestral' agricultural practices ('anatas'). However the recent introduction of 'ancient' agricultural rituals of contemporary indigenous actors to the context of the city, also called 'Anatas', is met with antagonism, and the connections between the agricultural rituals of Aymaras and Quechuas that still take place in the countryside and the Carnival parade are ignored.

One of the other assumptions in official discourses that place contemporary indigeneity in the distance is that folkloric dances are enough to represent the cultural diversity of the nation. In the words of A. Nava, authority at the ACFO, 'each of the eighteen dances represents a different culture'[62] (in interview), which implies that each of the dances is a cultural expression. The idea that the dances are representative of different cultures is founded on the fact that there are dances that depict 'peoples' from different cultural and historical backgrounds, particularly among the newer dances, in the dances and characters. This includes black slaves (*Negritos*), pre-Hispanic healers from the highlands (*Callawaya*), law-makers (*Doctorcitos*), warrior lowland Indians (*Tobas*), warrior highland Indians (*Tinku*), Inca royalty (*Incas*), Christian

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[61] 'El carnaval de Oruro, tiene su origen en el misticismo ancestral que el hombre de estas latitudes Uru-andinas practicaba. Los antecedentes previos al termino "carnaval" son, los ritos primitivos que dan origen a la religiosidad Uru, los de la domesticación a la llama, los de la caza a la taruka (ciervo andino), los ritos al Tiw y las que basicamente son conocidas como las anatas o fiestas de la siembra que obedecen a la cosmovisión y calendario agrícola andino' (Nava 2004: 12).

[62] 'Las dieciocho danzas son dieciocho culturas diferentes'.

Angels and the Devil (*Diablada*), among others (see Appendix F for a full list). The discourse of mestizaje is here implicit, for the images depicted are to be perceived as lived participation. However, are these performances of different cultures, or are they not simply different interpretations of a shared culture? Are the 'black slaves' depicted connected in tangible, transferable ways to the experiences of slavery of Africans in the Americas, or are they not Andean Orureños with their faces painted black wearing an Afro wig in a dance drama? On the relationship between representation and interpretation, Tuhiwai Smith has pointed to the importance of 'representation' as a concept in that 'it gives the impression of "truth"' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 35).

These dances are musical and visual displays of diverse features of indigeneity in the Andes: the hand-made colourful clothes, the pre-Hispanic symbols and objects dancers carry, the music of the brass bands based on ancient rhythms. The *Tinku* dance is particularly popular among young people, as its choreographies depict fighting and are energetic to dance and to watch. The largest Tinku bloques in Oruro are based in the universities of La Paz and Cochabamba, which include bloques wholly formed by people who travel from the US to take part in the Oruro parade. The connection between the indigenous components of national identity supposedly explicit through these dances and an indigenous subjectivity is merely discursive. This is not to say that the embodied dimension of ritual dancing may not transmit 'history' in ways that writing and books cannot achieve, which is a rich area of analysis in itself (although not in the scope of this analysis). Or that these dancers may not individually assume indigeneity as a part of their identity. Or the fact that some of them living abroad or immersed in a 'modern' lifestyle may imply that they cannot be engaged in affirmative processes of indigeneity. All of those affirmations would be short-sighted and have long been proved wrong. However, it cannot be assumed either that their dancing 'as Indians' can be automatically assumed as a tangible expression of indigeneity, just as Said (2003 [1978]) observed that the tangible realities of the Orient cannot really be grasped through the Western discourse of 'Orientalism'. Just as 'Orientalism' is not representative of the Orient (although it is sometimes assumed to be), the folkloric displays of history and culture in Carnival dancing in Bolivia cannot be assumed to represent the actors they depict.

This is in my view symptomatic of how contemporary indigenous participation is perceived as problematic, and is only celebrated if placed in the distant past. Along these lines, contemporary indigeneity emerges as irrelevant in festive imaginaries of the nation.

Speaking as an African-American woman in the 'wholly racialised world' of literature, Toni Morrison (1993) notes that the knowledge 'circulated' among academics and literary circles 'tacitly' implies that literary imaginaries are all White. It appeared, she noted, as though through a 'tacit agreement' American literature was free from the influence of four hundred years of African presence on the territory (1993: 5), as the experiences and histories of blacks were invisible from everything what was said about (and through) published American literature.

In Brazil, the black people had undergone a similar process of 'erasure' in their Carnival, according to Sheriff (1999). This author looked at postcolonial attempts to deal with the colonial legacy of race in national festive practices in Brazil through its main national festivity, Rio's Carnival. S/he followed the historical displacement of poor Black people who run the Samba troupes that have come to embody the spirit of Rio's Carnival. Through a discussion of modern ideas of beauty as related to media and the visible, it emerged that discourses of racial democracy related to the production and consumption of culture have brought about the 'the erosion of samba/carnaval as a negotiated economic and cultural niche conventionally reserved for poor people of color' (1999: 17-20). This, s/he translated, as the 'bleaching' and theft' of carnival. Both Morrison and Sheriff are dealing with the lack of recognition and visibility of people racially constructed as 'other' from cultural scenarios they contributed to create. Logically, these actors ought to be a legitimate presence in the imaginaries of cultural expressions that they helped to develop. Their legacy should be there to represent their actions and traits: to acknowledge the flavour that they added to the mix. Their living identities should somehow be imprinted onto the evolving culture they live in. Yet, despite occasional mirages of recognition, their lived contribution is still not acknowledged.

The invisibilisation of the Other takes place in a number of ways in the festive that would take too long to enumerate here. However, we can continue to work along the lines of discussing some of its principles. To follow I shall focus on two interconnected

strands: a racialised imaginary of 'others' as primitive, and their alleged inability to manage and promote development for their own resources. These, to me, are the principles of the colonial legacy that continue to work both to erase indigenous contribution from the historiography of festive culture, and indigenous subjectivity from ideas of national memory in Bolivia. I shall explore the above via an examination of the role of writing in establishing cultural ownership in the festive.

6.1.3 Writing and the Transmission of Memory

Taylor (2003) observed that in Western epistemology, writing and literacy largely takes up the idea of knowledge, in detriment to other forms of transmission (2003: 16). From the advent of colonialism, writing has been used as a marker of superiority, and 'to determine the breaks between the past and the present, the beginning of history and the development of theory' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 28). Tuhiwai Smith noted that communities who do not theorise in writing have been judged primitive and incapable of thinking critically and acting without emotion (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 29). I would argue that the superiority of writing over other forms of transmission is used against conjuntos that rely on orality as their main means of memory transfer to deny their presence and ownership in cultural performance.

The image of superimposition of one group over another, of one social actor speaking on behalf of another, helps to understand the racialised politics of representation in Oruro. Those concerns exposed by Morrison and Sherriff in the previous section, the superimposition of White Americans over Black Americans in literary imaginaries, of Whites over Blacks in Rio, making one group less visible or invisible in shared social imaginaries obeys to colonial principles about the legitimacy of the European colonisation and the notion of 'peoples without history'.

I depart from Dussel's establishment of modernity as a 'myth', by which he refers to 'the myth of European superiority over other cultures of the world' (Dussel 2008: 341). In tracing humanity's 'path of development' across the continents, Dussel (1995) observed that the myth of the 'emancipatory concept of modernity' (1995: 20) is based on the vision of development generated by Hegel that Universal History travelled from Asia to Europe—where it 'absolutely' came to a halt (Hegel, quoted by Dussel 1995; 20). Under this still pervasive perspective, America (as well as Africa) – excluded from the path of 'development' – represented everything that was primitive

and immature about humanity, until 'discovered' in 1492 by Europeans. The myth of the 'discovery' of America thus is no more than an 'eclipse' (Dussel 1992). It was the 'eclipse' of indigenous American peoples, their histories and previous knowledges, their systems and structures, by the start of European modernity.

Mignolo (2005) pointed out that the 'idea' of Latin America was constructed in the seventeenth century as a primitive land, where nature was more powerful than culture, without writing or history, culturally unevolved, and as an entity waiting to be 'civilised'. Harrison (2008) observed that the expansion of colonialism spread under the principle of *terra nullius.* This is a principle of international governability working on the principle that ownership must be established through legal records. This meant that lands that were not occupied 'legally', that is through written documents, previous to the arrival of the colonisers could be considered 'no-one's land' (*terra nullius*), and could therefore be rightfully appropriated.

The prominence of writing over other forms of recording became formalised in the Enlightment through science and philosophy in the context of imperial Europe 'into explicit systems of classification and regimes of truth' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 32). History emerged as a particular method of recording facts, contingent not just on literacy but also on certain principles such as the importance of chronology and being able to determine a point of origin and subsequent 'coherent' advances. These dynamics imply the existence of a pre-history time, as well as ideas of universal development as 'progress' and forward-looking (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 30). Thus, the perception of colonised peoples as 'peoples without history' encapsulates the idea of an absence of records and direction, and ultimately absence of 'truth', as I shall show next.

Writing as a method of coding knowledge is connected to how 'other' epistemologies have been excluded from historical narratives in the Andes (Howard et al 2002). This can be illustrated with a discussion of authorship among the performers of the Devil dance.

The emergence of the FACLD is often described in terms the modernisations it brought to the Diablada, from the inclusion of women, to the standardisation of the costume, among other elements. Many of the elements that make up the performance of dances today are also often attributed to this institution. The common knowledge

that the institution has brought innovations of the dance translates, in some contexts, into a sense of ownership, as expressed by the son of one of the founders of the institutions: 'everything related to the devil dance in the Oruro Carnival is the work of the Fraternidad [FACLD]'[63] (Mario B., in interview).

In the book *La Diablada de Oruro: sus máscaras y caretas (1998)*, used as a reference book for those researching the Devil dance in Oruro, Jorge Enrique Vargas Luza describes and explains the meanings of the symbols of the Diablada, in terms of mask, costume, and choreography. These elements are shared across the five diablada conjuntos.

The author describes how with the foundation of the FACLD, there was a standardisation of the elements of the dance. He says,

> …we standardised the costumes and instituted a rehearsal costume, we diagrammed the steps and movements, and designed [choreographic] figures according to the message of the sacramental play [that inspired the dance] (Vargas Luza 1998: 28, my translation).[64]

Later, the author also states that, in doing so, all those elements became the 'legal patrimony' ('patrimonio legal') of the FACLD (Vargas Luza 1998: 28). Whilst standardisation of the Devil dance as a whole is usually attributed to the FACLD, the issue of the authorship of the choreography of the dance is a matter of institutional dispute. According to Pedro C (GTADO authority), the choreography already existed among the Diablada de los Mañasos (earlier name of the GTADO) by the time the FACLD was founded. He explained that although the performance elements of the dance had not been too structured up to that point, a choreographic display had especially been prepared for the historical presentation in La Paz on July 16, 1944, to convey the narrative of the Eucharistic play between good and evil embedded in the Devil dance to a much larger audience that was not familiar with the tradition.

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[63] 'todo lo que hay en el Carnaval de Oruro de la Diablada es obra de la Fraternidad'

[64] '… se uniformaron los disfraces, se instituyó el traje de ensayo, se diagramaron pasos y movimientos y se diseñaron figuras acordes con el mensaje del auto sacramental [que inspira el baile]'.

I also found an earlier bibliographic record that corroborates this view (*La Razón*, 18/07/1944); see a scanned image of the original article in **Figure 16**.

CUARENTA Y CINCO MIL ESPECTADORES PRESENCIARON AYER LA ACTUACION DE LA DIABLADA DE ORURO

Figure 16. Press review of the first Diablada presentation in La Paz

The 1944 press review, titled 'FORTY-FIVE THOUSAND SPECTATORS WITNESSED YESTERDAY THE PERFORMANCE OF THE DIABLADA OF ORURO' from *La Razón* newspaper dated July 18 1944, mentions many of the elements of the choreography that Vargas Luza (1998) attributed to the FACLD as already present before the FACLD separated from the mañasos. Therefore, as the newspaper article precedes the Vargas Luza book by five decades, it seems that the matter seems settled: authorship can be attributed to the mañasos.

However, the issue at stake is not 'authorship' but 'ownership'. Vargas Luza's claim to 'legal ownership' of the dances to the FACLD is not of 'authorship' but 'encoding' ('we diagrammed the steps and movements') (1998: 29). To note here is how a tradition that had previously belonged to no-one, but which had been embodied and transmitted through several generations, was suddenly appropriated on the basis of its having been formally encoded. In other words, the issue is no longer about who created the dance, but who recorded it first; who fixed it to claim it as their own.

Claiming ownership, in this context, does not mean that the other diablada conjuntos are banned from practicing the diablada as and when they like, or that 'royalties' are due. It is not 'legal copyright' of the dance in that sense. It is rather a question of authority. The 'authority' of the FACLD in terms of the Devil dance is legitimized in their position as the conjunto of choice for international performances,

for being the 'face' of Carnival in sponsorship deals, and for being involved in the management of innovations through some of its key figures who also have cultural roles in the government. Encoding the dances meant appropriating what had previously belonged to 'no-one', whilst helping to 'legitimise' certain forms of knowledge and history-making over others. This is what Howard et al. have called: the 'colonisation of knowledge' (2002: 19), in their analysis of popular drama in the Andes. This also highlights another point made by Howard et al.: how different types of knowledge (particularly those acquired through formal education to which the upper classes have had historical access) 'serve to articulate social exclusion in Andean society' (2002: 20).

On the other hand, the needs to fix the origins of traditions down in time and space respond to ideas of providing a measurable environment for culture, promoted by the institutions involved in heritage management practices, such as UNESCO and ACFO in our case.

Harrison (2008) attributes the need to fix things partly to the relationship between locality and memory, which is particularly relevant in the management of heritage and the making of the national. The introduction of science (via historic records, authentification methods) to previously local, popular contexts serves to produce the local to a wider audience (2008: 214). This implies in Bolivia, the rewriting of Oruro as what Appadurai called a 'centre of national imagination' (2008: 212). Credibility is a major issue here, as is to present oneself as knowledgeable, which may explain why some of those in charge of heritage managements constantly demand 'scientific' research to approve of innovations.

However, the introduction of scientific methods into heritage management via institutions also becomes a tool for hegemonic processes. Since Oruro received the 2001 Intangible Heritage award, the pressure to document and code oral and embodied practices has increased. 'Intangible' expressions become measurable, under the concern of safeguarding the 'cultural integrity' of Carnival, so that any changes require 'backing' that is measured against ideas of authenticity and originality. At the same time the concerns for 'transgression' deters change. A bias for scientific methods to introduce change excludes certain actors from having authority regarding the festivity, and significantly limits their ability to interact with it. I shall illustrate this

point with an account of the obstacles that are placed to some conjuntos on the basis of the requirement of written research to back up innovations

In 2008, the GTADO had an ongoing dispute with cultural authorities over their decision to include a new character in their performance in recent years, which is based on a figure that is a predecessor to the Diablada, the *Wariqato*. GTADO members had stated that the Wariqato is centred on the pre-Hispanic deity 'Huari' that features in the myths and legends that are often quoted as narrating the origins of the celebration (César C, in personal communication). The problem was the GTADO could provide no written evidence of this character.

The GTADO only had the oral stories narrated by its elders and authorities that there had been a figure with that name in the past, and that first miners danced as 'Wariqatos' rather than as the 'Diablos'. The mañasos had introduced this character in recent years based on the oral accounts, and because it had seemed like a good way to innovate, but received constant demands to remove these dancers by the ACFO (Dario A., in interview). During a seminar on Diablada-related practices (Seminario Diablada, 12 12 07, Oruro), one of the institutional presenters had said that the Wariqato was a 'distortion' (Comité de Etnografía y Folklore 2007).

It is implied that mañasos have not established the legitimacy of their claim in any way considered 'acceptable' by the gatekeepers of tradition whose job it is to safeguard 'tradition' for the benefit of all. However, the discourse of 'safeguarding culture' shows to be biased. When more prestigious institutions have introduced new characters without written 'backing', the standards of 'objectivity' have been lowered, and they have been on the basis that they 'keep with the essence' of the parade (Comité de Etnografía y Folklore 2007), and receive invitations to special events to show the dance to wider audiences.

In my view, the boundaries between innovation and transgression are not clear at all. The introduction of new actors since the 1940s shows that the event has moved from change to change in unprecedented ways for over sixty years. I discussed the issue of the shortening pollera in Chapter 5, which also shows that an innovation that is not 'founded' can be accepted. What this demonstrates is that in some cases spectacle is a more powerful concept than recognition. The officialised setting of the

above comments help to undermine the authority of some of the Carnival authors over the cultural performance they have helped to create even more convincingly.

This also serves to articulate their exclusion from important other processes of transmission, given that whilst the festivity has become hugely more visible on the national cultural arena from the 1940s, the mañasos, as its founders, have not to the same extent. As Pérez-Ruiz, Bolivian race scholar observes, racism and discrimination produce social practices deeply rooted in ideological and cultural notions founded on the disqualification of the Other in racial and cultural terms (2000: 82). Here, as I have shown, these manifest themselves as forms of subordination based on the symbolic management of differences: written vs. oral, authorship vs. ownership. In my view, the debate about the wariqato could become a dispute over cultural rights, for it becomes clear that discriminatory practices determine which actors have more of a say to decide on the shape of the celebration. It emerges that the actors whose opinions are taken into consideration more readily, and their presence is acknowledge more vehemently, are part of an existing socio-cultural elite separated from the rest by principles of social distinction and the racialisation of culture.

Whereas in the case of Rio (Sheriff 1999) and Oruro, it is acknowledged that the traditions started at the hands of poor Blacks and Indians (respectively), it is also accepted that these groups are no longer the main players of the expressions. In the sequence of events and actors dictated by the 'temporalisation of culture' (Fabian 2002), their presence became less than relevant, because they predate 'records'. This explains why they are more readily accepted as a thing of the past. This shows that writing and the discourse of 'science' are still used as a form of knowledge transmission that brings displacement and absence among indigenous and subaltern people. Their racial and cultural traits can no longer be representative of the contemporary processes of a tradition what is high in the esteem of people, and symbolically competing with other globally visual spectacles.

Appadurai called 'predatory recollection practices' (2008: 215) the phenomenon of certain heritage forms that cannot survive alongside others and end up being absorbed by them. The dynamics of predatory practices required the erasure of prior forms of heritage, which is an extension of the coloniser's logic that if a thing's ownership is not established in writing, it too can become absorbed and claimed as

own. This may serve to explain how the history of the GTADO has been engulfed by more recent and more powerfully asserted histories. In the appropriation of the parade by a more powerful group, mañaso trajectory in the Carnival is now hidden inside the narratives of a different social group, where they have no say or significant presence. These new narratives do not recognise the significance of mañaso contribution.

On the other hand, bias for certain forms of cultural transmission at institutional level, determines that the authors of culture are not among its owners. Carnival thus becomes an expression that silences one of its key actors, confirming and repeating the places of each actor outside the festivity, as existing hierarchies that rule social and political positioning outside of the festive space, also rule inside the fiesta.

In summary, through the politics of representation in operation in Oruro, the GTADO have become 'those people' ('*ese sector*'). They are not explicitly discriminated on the basis of 'race' as a marker of their phenotype but as a result of the 'racialisation of culture' (De la Cadena 2007), whereby original racial constructs operate alongside binary forms of representation 'primitive/modern', 'literate/illiterate', 'decent/vulgar', 'knowledgeable/ignorant', etc..

Rural indigenous actors entering the festive space are also made invisible as authorities neglect to include their festive forms in processes of national transmission. Indigeneity, separated from its actors, is only accepted if placed in an abstract past or via the 'indio folklórico'. Cultural authorities speak of the intrinsic difference and lack of links between rural parades and the Oruro Carnival parade. Thus, anyone who under the ideologies in operation is seen as 'backward' or 'primitive', becomes eclipsed both from frameworks of representation and from decision-making. This shows that the appropriation of Carnival in Oruro from subaltern social groups is equivalent to the 'eclipse of Indian' from processes of national transmissions, and the 'eclipse of the 'Other' from World History (Dussel 1992).

I have so far established what happens at the level of representation, that is the 'staging' of traditions as messages of the nation. However, I shall now focus on the idea of performance as dialogical. Performance offers the possibility of responding to ideological forces in the processes of representation, as those same actors that are

'eclipsed' in representation can also, via their agency, re-emerge in performance to engage in processes of memory recovery and the politics of recognition.

6.2 Performing Subjectivity and the Recovery of Memory

Bakhtin would have said that meaning is 'dialogical', for it arises in the exchange between two or more forces (Bakhtin, in Holquist 1987). Taylor observed that, equally, identity is not fixed but depends on dialogical relations with others (1992: 32). He also observed that as a socially derived phenomenon, identity is 'shaped by recognition or its absence' through our contact with 'significant others' (Taylor 1992: 25).

Foucault's work opened the field of the subject, to numerous possibilities, but it is through the analysis of practices of self-production which were later known as performativity (Butler 1999, Hall 1996), that we begin to understand the subject as not *per se* – having an intrinsic and fixed identity – but as the result of becoming. I agree with Hall when he states that identity acts as a series of articulations between the subject, and discursive formations that produce continuities and exclusions (Hall 1996: 13-14).

The dynamics of performativity, and the negation of the Indian for the emergence of Bolivian national subjectivities, have prompted new processes of 'self-production' (Hall 1997b) in the festive context of Oruro. Here I propose to explore the processes in which identities emerge as articulations through the festive. I will look two examples in Carnival of agency for the creation of opportunities for self-development and the recovery of memory through performance for the recovery of memory. The first will focus on notions of memory and 'authorship' as enacted at the GTADO. The second will be a discussion on the Anata Andina rural parade as means of indigenous participation in the politics of recognition.

6.2.1 GTADO: "Somos los primeros" ("We are the first")

As we have seen in Chapter 4, the transmission of heritage is largely promoted as the most important aspect of knowledge transfer taking place in the performance of Carnival. When thinking of notions of cultural legacy, questions emerge about how to evaluate what can be deemed 'collective' legacy, in terms of whose perspective it represents. The selection of certain popular forms as national symbols is 'guided by the desire of certain dominant groups to impose specific versions of history and the

past' (Guss 2000: 15, see also Williams 1977: 115-120), and sometimes in agreement with economics demands for touristic revenue.

Taylor (1992) argued, in terms of the dialogical condition of identity, that recognition is essential for identity. He observed that non-recognition (the denial of identity) or malrecognition (the distortion of identity) inflicts harm, and leads to a reduced and dehumanising 'mode of being' (Taylor 1992: 35). In Oruro, mestizaje exercises an invisibilising force over certain groups in processes of national representation, as they lack recognition for their contributions and legacy. The efforts to resist being 'reduced' by non-recognition for mañasos despite pressure to engage in the more commercial spectacular aspects of the parade must be the result of their own agency. These efforts have focused on the performative and devotional aspect of Andean Catholicism, and honouring the memory of 'los abuelos' (grandparents, 'ancestors'). In my view, the agency of the mañasos to remain relevant was evident when thinking and talking about the past.

Discussions about tradition and cultural legacy were often in the conversation when talking about Carnival, not least with my host-institution, but on rather different terms than those expressed by the official narratives of national identity.

As a newcomer, more experienced dancers who wanted to share their wisdom about Carnival symbols or traditions often approached me. Most dancers (along with cultural and religious authorities) tended to explain the Carnival in terms of the legends and myths of the oral narratives. In Oruro, these mythical narratives serve to bridge today's Carnival to practices that originated in 'ancients times' ('tiempos ancestrales'), and as basis for the official line of continuity between today's actors of the Carnival tradition and an important and recognisable point of origin that legitimises their presence. Sallnow (1987), working in the provinces near Cuzco (Peru), also observed that myths serve to establish a point of contact among diverse Andean subjectivities from which a sense of cultural continuity for different social groups emerges.

By contrast, from the testimonies I gathered in the GTADO, people, particularly the elders, mostly spoke of the continuation of the conjunto as something inherited from previous generations. The mañasos often talked of los abuelos ('the grandparents') when performing rites for the Virgin, when cooking, and when

preparing the dances. From what I observed, those words were charged not just with the idea of kin and blood, but also with a sense of continuities over time and across generations, whilst all the time linking those customs to Catholic practices dedicated to the Virgin of the Mineshaft.

As Harris (2000) has shown, the relationship between the dead and the living is tangible one in the Andes. It could be suggested that that reflections of these practices are still part of the festive rituals of the mañasos. Salomon (2002) observed that in the rural Andes the 'dead grandparents' also served as a tool for self-definition, a link to solve the problem of historical continuity in the colonial context of rupture and fragmentation (Salomon 2002). I would suggest that the invocation of 'los abuelos', meaning both 'grandparents' and 'ancestors', allowed mañasos to engage to connect the present to the past and in processes for the recovery of own memory otherwise denied.

I observed when ideas of the past were invoked by mañasos through the figure of the abuelos, it was not a distant past that was conjured, as in the myths of the Urus or the pre-Hispanic Incas, but one of intimacy and tangible experiences. The GTADO members spoke to me about how the founders were so devotional, how they prepared a particular dish for certain Carnival rites, and the way they used to dress and prepare the Virgin for the procession. These invocations occurred in the preparation of the kalapari[65] dish for some of the velada (weekly gatherings around the Virgin) rites, and as they prayed 'in the ways of the abuelos' ('como lo hacían los abuelos'), sometimes singing songs in Quechua and making burned offerings to both the Virgin and the Pachamama. In all of these occasions los abuelos were recalled under the figure of the Virgin, who presides all Carnival meetings. These religious and epistemological articulations, done via presence of the sanctifying figure of the Virgin to whom all the actions are in principle dedicated, allow mañasos to honour their ancestors through a very localised type of Catholicism, whilst all along being engaged in participation in Carnival performance.

The channel of Catholicism for the invocation of 'los abuelos' as articulated in Carnival practices is the result of their own agency and their ability to make their own

[65] Soup consisting of a spicy corn base cooked using hot stones.

choices in the homogenising context of the celebration. It legitimises a negotiated set of patterns to follow, which neither placed in the distant past, nor in bibliographic sources, nor as something that needs to approved by 'outsiders'. Instead, they emerge as practices that have grown and developed inside one's own environment.

Carnival practices centred on the Virgin and los abuelos also give an opportunity to summon ideas of upbringing and a sense of belonging in tangible ways. Pedro C., of the GTADO, explained that a mañaso 'upbringing' was a very tangible thing, which he said was clearly visible in his hands, full of scars from cutting meat (Pedro C, in interview). He brought my attention to those marks, explaining that they reflected common experiences with other mañasos (see **Figure 17**). A shared legacy, but not the intangible kind 'in danger of disappearing', which institutions talk about.

Figure 17. Hands of GTADO dancer

He said that they reflected a way of eating, of working, of dancing, of relating to others, and of adhering to certain principles such as a respect for elders and authority (Pedro C., in interview). The experiences summoned were very tangible. It could be interpreted that the 'pathways' of the abuelos were also imprinted on those hands. Those visible traces signalled an upbringing which meant starting life lower down the hierarchical ladder than Pedro C.'s present position as a secondary school teacher. These were identity-making marks that reflected the materiality of the experiences, of points of contact with life, of things that leave a mark and their memory imprinted on one's being.

Thus I found that the role of the 'grandparents' of the mañasos is to mark a 'cultural' path, such as the path evoked in the songs of the *taki* ritual (discussed by Abercrombie 1998) that engages the subjectivities of the dancers in wider identity-making processes. They have a similar pattern as the patterns followed for the veneration the *tios* in the mine, who protect the living, the rites for the *achachilas* of the Aymara countryside who help in the harvest and are also venerated during the jallupacha.

By retaining their own blend of popular religiosity, the GTADO can bypass, to an extent, the need to provide research back-up for some of the cultural developments of

their conjunto. Behind-the-scenes, away from the glare of the audience, the 'experts' and there cameras, here is less need to negotiate with cultural gatekeepers (anthropologists or folklorists) what practices they maintain internally, which ones they mutate – given that a primary connection to los abuelos legitimises their actions. Instead, by virtue of being the 'first', researchers approach them to be exposed to their practices, to be told why something is done the way that it is, with the expectation that the responses will be of first-hand experience rather than quotes from a book.

This familiarity and close bond to the sources of 'legacy', is something that cannot be claimed by many of the conjuntos, which has allowed the GTADO a good degree of freedom in maintaining the ways that are important to them without always having to comply with the practices imposed by official discourses. As Bolivian anthropologist Javier Romero once told me, 'mañasos don't have to do anything to be the first' (in personal communication). They continue perform using their fifty-year old choreography (as noted by Romero, quoted by Ayala 2005: 16). Their nickname is *los Auténticos* ('the authentic ones') in reference to the name of their institution the Gran Tradicional Auténtica Diablada Oruro, but it also echoes of the sense of authenticity they gain from being the first. It was commonly voiced by other dancers that the GTADO did not innovate; they did not create new steps or perform any intricacies; their display was not spectacular like that of newer conjuntos like the FACLD or the DAU; but their antiquity and their sense of collectivity made them respectable. That was part of their identity, and it was the identity they brought with them to the collective effort that is the Carnival parade.

Their approach to the performance of the dance is very 'traditional' and rooted in their own discourse about 'authenticity'. There were few rehearsals, and decisions are taken by individuals rather than as a managed approach. This is something that took me by surprise when I joined them. I had always thought of the Oruro Carnival as a very well arranged display, and imagined that people would rehearse and prepare for months. This was the case in many conjuntos, but not in our bloque. In the Bloque Aniversario, Don Marco (the guide) took most of the decisions about the formation and choreographies by himself, after briefly consulting the rest of us. He gave directions using his voice, which is unusual, for most other bloque leaders I saw used a whistle at all times – so he had to shout. At one point, we bought him a whistle

because some people complained they couldn't hear but he said he 'wasn't used to it'. His style was possibly considered 'old school', because he was not as competitive as younger bloque leaders who pressurised their dancers to rehearse, develop impressive steps and innovate in order to make an impact on the audience. Don Marco was however very knowledgeable of the audience, and knew when to tell us to speed up or jump higher, when to perform a tried-and-tested choreographic figure that the audience particularly liked, or when to sing along, to cause the greatest impact on the crowd watching. To direct us, he used his experience and his intuition, rather than injecting in us a thirst for technique. He was not a dance choreographer. We didn't have prepared choreographies, just a few basic steps. However, in my view, by not having a set 'show' to offer, we were able to dance in dialogue with the audience.

I would suggest that venerating the Virgin, while following the *path of the abuelos*, allows a degree of freedom with regards to what practices are highlighted, which ones are forgotten, and which images best convey an idea of self, of being part of a trade, of being brought up a in a mañaso household. It shows how practices are rediscovered and reshaped to fit modern needs, as people imagine new ways of using the past to change their historical situations, as described by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1994 [1983]).

Toni Morrison speaks of imagination as a 'shared world' between individuals with different languages (Morrison 1993: xii). She observed that writing as an African-American woman in her genderised and 'wholly racialised' world, in order to write about others distant from her condition, she has to trust her own ability to imagine other and project her own subjectivity onto their otherness. Imagining, she said, gives her a chance to enter 'what one is estranged from'. Imagining, thus, 'is becoming' (Morrison 1993: 4). These ideas are pertinent for the racialised and hierarchical space of Oruro, where different subjectivities and social identities come to meet and watch, perform, work and participate in a number ways. Performing with the bloque Aniversario gave us all a chance to engage, opening the possibility of dialogue and of becoming something beyond our usual social and cultural boundaries during our performance. This was done, via our 'devil' masks, in the framework of faith to the Virgin, the transmission of heritage, and the carnivalesque, whilst remaining on the 'pathways' of the abuelos.

Figure 18. Post-parade street celebration. The women of the Cofradía rest by the side of the Virgin.

These religious and epistemological rearticulations serve to strike a balance between spectacular and Andean practices for the mañasos, and also as an underlying force to counter-act authorship debates with authorities, and to ensure cultural survival amidst a non-mañaso status quo.

PC recalls an opportunity when he was invited by religious authorities to attend, with some of the mañasos, an ecclesiastic seminar, and was questioned about the Catholic carnival practices at the GTADO:

> I will tell you an anecdote: about 6 years ago I was invited ... there was a religious seminary here in Oruro, all parishes were gathered […], a religious seminar, Evangelical, or Catholic. Where they tell me because you were the first and for one-hundredth anniversary, we want you to show us all your traditions and customs... And we assembled and we went. We performed a typical diablada [and all of our rituals].
>
> We then did a whole demonstration: how we do veladas, how to chew coca, how to smoke our cigarettes. And then [there were] round tables, where all the different members of the diablada [went] to explain. And my group began to explain, "we dance to the Virgin in gratitude for all the goods that she helped us get. Thanks to our devotion to the Virgin we have been able to buy houses, to earn money, we have some wealth, let's say. And that's why we dance". So that's what happens.

> But then they told us, "and why dance around a picture? If the Bible says there is one God, thou shalt not worship my image and likeness. You just have to believe in God, not in images". I explained, "it's a way to thank God". But they said, "no, it isn't". Well, [...] and I was a little angry, so I said, "and do you think we are actually dancing to the Madonna? Deep down, we're dancing to the Pachamama. It's for the Pachamama we are dancing. We are thanking Mother Earth. In the form we're dancing to the Virgin, to make you believe".[66]

This individual burst of honesty on the side of a mañaso illustrates how efforts to remain on the path of official Christianity whilst trying to maintain those important cultural continuities are not always smooth or conflict-free. It illustrates that sometimes –when the tensions overspill—sides are taken, and the differences become apparent. As this happens, and the subaltern vocalises their resistance, the fissures come to the surface, and the mirage of mestizaje vanishes, leaving the two weird-looking sides staring each other face to face.

From the episode of the encounter between the Church and the mañasos, it also emerges that the mañasos continue to be a 'source'. They are still invited to explain things, to demonstrate their ways on behalf of the abuelos. In our previous section, I discussed the idea of 'authorship' as ownership, in the sense of being able to exert control over the thing that is owned. To an extent, I demonstrated that, for the

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[66] 'Yo le cuento una anécdota, hace unos 6 años yo fui invitado… había un seminario eclesiástico acá en Oruro, todas las parroquias estaban reunidas […], un seminario eclesiástico, cristiano, o católico. Donde me indican y me dicen por ser Uds. la primera y por cumplir los cien años, queremos que Uds. nos muestren todas sus tradiciones y sus costumbres…Y les hemos armado y hemos hecho. Hemos hecho una diablada típica [y todos los rituales].

Entonces hicimos toda nuestra demostración: cómo hacemos nuestra velada, cómo acullicamos, cómo fumamos nuestro cigarrillos. Y después se [hicieron] mesas redondas, donde cada uno de la diablada [fuimos] a explicarles. Y mi grupo empezó a explicarles, y les dijo: - "nosotros bailamos en agradecimiento a la virgen, por todos los bienes que nos ha ayudado, gracias a la devoción que le tenemos a la virgen hemos podido comprar casas, hemos podido ganar algo de dinero, tenemos algo de bonanza, podemos decir. Y por eso bailamos." Y eso ocurre.

Y nos dijeron – "¿y por qué bailan alrededor de una imagen? Si la Biblia dice que hay un solo Dios, dice que no alabarás a imagen y semejanza mía. Uds. solo tienen que creer en Dios, no en imágenes." Yo les explicaba – "pero es un agradecimiento a Dios". Y ellos dijeron – "no, no es así." Bueno […] y un poquito me enojé, y le dije, - "¿y uds qué creen, que realmente estamos bailando a la Virgen? En el fondo, nosotros estamos bailando a la Pachamama. A la Pachamama le estamos bailando. Le estamos agradeciendo a la madre tierra. En la forma estamos bailando a la virgen, en la forma, para hacerles creer".'

purposes of representation the ownership of the devil dance, control over the shape and contents of the dance is exercised by institutional regulations and heritage practices. The authorship of the mañasos, rather than serving to pinpoint a site of 'origin' for others, involves exerting agency to continue to use the self as source: of meaning, of memory, and of subjectivity. In their case, authorship is enacted, rather than discursive, and serves to balance the politics of recognition before entering dialogue through performance. It is also transmissive, for it highlights the responsibility of the institution to carry on the legacy but in respect of own memory, to create spaces to develop the self in ways that are appropriate with one's humanity.

Taylor observed that if as individuals we internalize an inferior image that has been projected onto us, our identity could become 'malformed', and influential in our own ability to seize opportunities (Taylor 1992: 25). Instead, argued the author, individuals may engage in the politics of recognition, to purge the self from those projections (Taylor 1992: 26). Bolivian philosopher Juán José Bautista argued that dialogue, as a meeting of two (or more) subjectivities for the purposes of gaining new knowledge from it for each side, is only achieved through recognition, because a dialogue presumes an explicit recognition of the legitimacy of the two sides and their subjectivities (Bautista 2010: 15). Therefore to be able to engage in dialogue, both parts have to have had opportunities to develop what it is they want to say, and have the other acknowledge the legitimacy of their presence and their reasoning in advance of the exchange. This requires having opportunities to develop one's reasoning in advance of establishing the dialogue. In the case of Oruro, self-development has meant finding ways to do so away from the public gaze, and the cameras, and the pressures of performing.

6.2.2 The Day After

Elder Jr. (1994) has argued that human agency is the capacity of an agent to act in the world to make choices and make their choices impact the world. I propose to borrow this concept to illustrate what I observed with a 'behind-the-scene' experience at the GTADO, which made me change my understanding of the festive. It was then when I stopped seeing the festive as something intrinsically transmissive or dialogical, and saw more clearly that both the transmissive and dialogical dimensions are the result of choices taken to make processes relevant to the self.

After Carnival Sunday, most visitors assume that Carnival is over, and those engaged in touristic activities leave Oruro to visit nearby sites. Monday Carnival is thus a much more intimate type of festive experience. There are still public displays, but the main activity for the GTADO members was the post-carnival party. As a dancer, I was invited to take part in the celebrations in a hall hired for the occasion.

This is an opportunity for the conjunto leaders to thank the dancers for their contribution. The whole conjunto and helpers were invited, as well as elders and conjunto authorities. There was food and drinks in abundance, and the bands that animated the parade were now playing non-stop live music for the entertainment of the dancers. There were several generations on our table, but it was the elders who directed the scene: they – as conjunto authorities – brought the drinks out, they organized the catering and music, they passed on the tubs of *chicha* (handmade fermented corn drink) to share, and they told the band when to start and when to stop.

As a new recruit, I was asked to dance all the time. When we sat down it was only to drink and chat briefly, to be followed by some more non-stop dancing, until we were no longer able to go on. There were several bands, some played traditional Carnival brass band music, other played *cumbias* and more contemporary popular styles.

People seemed relaxed, and enjoying being taken care of by conjunto authorities. Many of the dancers looked as though they had had no sleep or respite from drinking since Saturday. Don Marco hadn't slept for two nights in a row he told me. He seemed particularly content with himself, surrounded by many family members, and dancing and drinking. Some people were still wearing their costumes, or parts of it. As this celebration takes place after the performance, the pressure of the parade is no longer there. After the last few weeks of being absorbed by increasing Carnival activity, the performance had been accomplished, the 'offering' of the Virgin had been delivered, and the parade had been a success.

I got chatting about the whole experience with others on the table we were sharing as a bloque. At one point, one of the dancers in my bloque pulled me over and said something that changed my understanding of things. He said smilingly: 'I just want to say something. So you know. *This* [pointing around the room] is why we dance. *This*

is why we save all year round. *This*'. [67] During the party I was too busy dancing, chatting and generally celebrating the conclusion of an intense period to think much of it then.

Reflecting back on that occasion, however, I felt he had wanted me to realize (as someone engaged in the analysis of events), that although it appeared as though the emphasis was on the parade, the real return for his participation had not been just the applause of the audience, the solemn meeting with the sacred, or the chance to become something other. Instead of those grander aspects, the real return seemed to be being part of that party we were in.

This meant that we were no longer operating in the realm of representation, but working instead on what Hall (1997b) has called the production of the self. The dynamics taking place behind the performative/dialogical/spectacular dimension of Carnival provided GTADO dancers spaces to decide what is important and consider alternative options, without external structures or expectations. It was still transmissive in terms of transferring community and identity-making principles, but these are also made more accessible by the flow of drinks and dancing: the display of hospitality as a way to show prestige, the reproduction and reinforcing of loyalties to one's close community, ways and customs around food, dancing and drinking and the sacred. These are values that are not necessarily easily available to them as a social and racialised group in the wider community. The fact that they are still being passed on reflects their significance in the life of mañasos. Therefore the festive also emerges as a self-produced opportunity maintained for the purposes of self-development.

However despite the agency of certain groups to create and maintain those spaces of self-development and contestation, it could be argued that the focus of the mestizo Carnival is narrowing down rather than widening. The mañasos and few other similar groups are a constant presence, and have maintained their place through negotiations and thanks to their 'symbolic capital' (to borrow Bourdieu's expression, 2000). However, what happens to new actors? Or those who have been unable to find means to establish a dialogue?

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[67] 'Sólo quiero que sepas algo. Para que sepas. Es *esto* [señalando el salon lleno de gente] por lo que uno danza, ésto es por lo que uno ahorra. *Esto*.'

To turn to these questions, I shall examine in the next and final section the emergence of a newer actor in Oruro's festive map: the Anata Andina.

6.2.3 Anata Andina and the Invasion of Carnival

The rural anata is part of a network of local agricultural celebrations around the figure of the dead (as previously described in Chapter 3) that starts with the rainy season around November.

Anata means 'play' or 'carnival' in Aymara (Véliz Lopez 2002: 73), an indigenous language of the highlands. The 'anata' is described by Van Den Berg (1985, quoted by Véliz Lopez 2002: 73) as one of the Aymara *jallupacha* (rainy season) celebrations for the dispatch of 'carnival', and centred on the *Pachamama*, or 'Mother Earth' deity (Véliz Lopez 2002: 72). It takes place over a week after Carnival weekend, as Aymaras in rural regions celebrate by decorating their houses, making offerings to the generative powers of the fields, and paying visits to each other. Ritual activity is also directed to the wak'as in charge of the fertility of the land, of animal and humans. At the end, there is a celebration with music and drinking for the rites of dispatch of 'carnival' until the following year.

The *Anata Andino* (see **Figure 19**) is a festive parade that takes place in the city of Oruro the week before Carnival. It consists of dancing troupes, accompanied by live music performed on local hand-made instruments. At the end, a jury assesses their performances and the winners emerge, receiving agricultural goods as prizes.

Figure 19. Anata Andina musician in parade at the Avenida Cívica

Anata participants, according to the organisers of the festival, belong to 'peasant' communities, most of whom are rural agricultural workers who spend months of the year living and working in ayllus[68], and the rest of the year doing manual work in urban centres. It is one of several rural parades that enter the urban space around the same period, all of which involve ritual dancing and music performed along the streets of Oruro. In its shape, the Anata parade is similar to the Carnival parade, although Anata dances belong to rural practices, and the instruments used to play the music are closer to the hand-made instruments played in rural festivities during the rainy season (although more recently these are commercially produced, as seen in **Figure 19**), such as *pinkillos* or *tarkas*. The clothes worn in Anata *comparsas* (carnival dancing troupes) are uniformed across each of the dancing troupes, and traditionally hand-made using animal products and mechanical tools. The Anata Andino is the largest of the rural

[68] The term *ayllu* does not refer only to territory-based indigenous communities, but must be understood as a denomination for an 'autonomous space for the continuation of Aymara knowledge'. (Fernandez Osco 2006: 82) In Western academia, anthropologists Tristan Platt and Olivia Harris, among others, have written extensively about the ayllu as territory-based networks linked by production needs and kin. A generation of Aymara and Bolivian intellectuals have also started to conceptualise the ayllu as a depository of traditional knowledge and indigenous political teachings. (See the work of Fernández Osco 2006, for example)

parades. It is organised by the Oruro branch of the National Peasant Federation of Rural Workers, the FSTUCO[69].

One of the main points of contrasts I observed between the two parades is the different approaches to religiosity in the public space. The Carnival parade dancers mostly save any expression of religiosity for when they arrive inside the Church, perhaps as the dancing itself can be considered a religious act. The anata dancers, on the other hand, perform many religious rituals during the parade. These make offerings to the Pachamama before, during, and at the end of the parade, including burning offerings, ritual drinking and animal sacrifices, which are part of the religiosity of rural communities in the highlands. I would argue that the emergence of the Anata in 1993, as a public display and performance of rituals normally reserved to the private sphere of the community has acquired political relevance in the discussion of national identity and the role of indigenous peoples. This has to be read against the dynamics of articulations of resistance, performed authenticity, and the recollection of an Aymara identity into a larger sense of community with internal structures and a common origin: the notion of the 'Aymara nation'.

6.2.4 An Aymara Notion of Nationhood

In Chapter 4, I exposed the problematic incorporation of indigenous peoples into Bolivia nationhood as a result of the assimilationist project of the 1952 Revolutions and the restructuring dynamics to turn indigenous people into mestizo national subjects that followed. I would argue that the Anata Andina must be seen as part a series of indigenous challenges to this process.

An earlier challenge to mestizaje was the Indianismo of Fausto Reynaga and the Partido Indio de Bolivia in the 1960s. Reynaga advocated a cultural and political reorganisation of indigenous people led by Indians, but not as a process managed by mestizos or whites speaking on behalf of Indians. His *indianismo* presented a challenge to elite-led indigenismo, in that it put forward recognition of being Indian as the result of race, culture and language. Reynaga (1970) recognized that there were 'two Bolivias', one that was pushing to become prosperous, and one for the Indians.

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[69] FSTUCO is the acronym for the Spanish title: Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Unica del Campo de Oruro.

According to Canessa (2000) his political reach did not spread widely at the time because of the political context (2000: 123). This refers to the pact between indigenous organizations and the government at the time, which had imposed the submission of indigenous movements and its leaders to the army in the Military-Peasant Pact (*Pacto Militar-Campesino*, 1966-79) (Soto 1994).

Thus, the relaunch of indigenous challenges was to emerge not from the countryside, but from the cities. Canessa (2000) observes that second-generation indigenous migrants in urban centres where the next agents to dispute the legitimacy of the mestizo discourse. The 1973 Manifesto was created in Tiwanaku by indigenous activists and intellectuals from La Paz, it exposed a critical view of school education which it said was a system to turn into mestizos without identity and instil in them with a Western and capitalist ideology (Manifesto 1973, quoted by Canessa 2000: 124). In it was articulated the idea of the nation as a historical and cultural continuum with the ethics and tenets of an Aymara identity, which translated into the 'Aymara Nation'. Canessa observes that although the idea of an Aymara nation was based on an awareness of historical developments from a particular geopolitical perspective, it was also as such a new invention (2000: 126). It was inspired by the figure of Tupac Katari who had led the 1780s uprising against colonial authority, and had promised to bring an Indian revolution from after his death. This gave rise to *katarismo*, a political movement that engaged in the 'recuperation of "long memory" obscured by the short memory of the Agrarian Reform' (Rivera 1987, quoted by Canessa 2000: 126).

Canessa observes that *katarismo* has since its emergence in the 1970s not become a unified political movement, but –as more of an ideology rooted in the notion of an Aymara nation and an Indian race, alongside a critique of US imperialism—it has achieved political influence over more recent developments (2000: 127). For instance, the emergence of the first Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB) in 1979 took place in the context of the *katarista* movement, which served to unite and organise peasants not only under their 'class' but also their ethnicity (Canessa 2000: 127). It was among the members of the Oruro branch of the CSUTCB where the first Anata Andina was conceived and organized, becoming a public display of indigeneity in 1993.

During an interview, Ivan Z., who was among founders of the Anata Andina, explained the emergence of the parade in terms of a process of self-discovery. He recalled attending a political meeting with other indigenous activists and returning political exiles in 1982. This was in the context of the short-lived left-wing government of Hernán Siles Zuazo (1982-1985) and the opportunity it provided for the reorganization of resistance against the series of mostly right-wing military dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s. At the end of the meeting, many of the left-wing urban returnees turned to Ivan and his commission, to ask what they were, referring to their ethnicity. Ivan Z said at the time he had not been able to offer a reply to 'what' they were any more than by mentioning the ayllu of their provenance. The episode followed thus:

> - 'But what language do you speak?
>
> - 'I speak Castellano'.
>
> - 'What else?'
>
> - 'English, a little'.
>
> 'When it was our time to leave, the men asked again, 'but what else do you speak?'
>
> - 'Aymara!'[70]

According to Ivan, this was the moment when he and many of his companions developed a clearer sense of their own identity as an Aymara. The episode had brought home to him that they spoke their own language, had their own territory, and practiced their own '*usos y costumbres*' (ways and customs) (Ivan Z. in interview). He said that ten years later the Anata Andina was launched to 'show the nation what goes on in the countryside with the Indians' ('*lo que pasa en el campo con los indios*'). I would argue that in those terms it was also an Indianista response to the Carnival parade's depiction of folkloric Indians, looking to assert instead an indigenous voice to speak to the nation about indigeneity.

Ivan Z. also described the emergence of the Anata Andina in terms of a struggle with the Catholic Church:

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[70] The original Spanish conversation has been transcribed directly into English.

> 'The Catholic Church didn't want the Anata Andina entrada to take place. […] Because […] we remembered with force the five hundred years of resistance, the Spanish invasion. […] There was a powerful confrontation with the Church, [by] the Aymaras and the Quechuas. We advanced with force since 1993, we made our own priests. We researched and we have our own Aymara priests now. That's how we had our first Anata on 1993. Thanks to the impetus of those who lived in exile abroad, we were able to identify our identity and see that we had been confused by the Spanish evangelising invasions' (Zuna, in interview).[71]

It is explicit here that the parade was a concerted effort to appear on a 'map', which had previously denied their presence. Abercrombie referred to this emergence in terms of the 'invasion of Carnival', which concurred with a wider indigenous 'call to arms' in the 1990s (2003: 207).

This decade, to coincide with the 1992 Columbus Quincentennial, marked the relaunch of indigenous movements in Latin American. In Bolivia Albó (1991) had warned of the 'return of the Indian', as the previous decades had shown that indigenous movements were restructuring themselves to find ways to articulate their struggle that would find resonance in the changing political and economic global context. The *Declaración de Quito* (Ecuador) in 1991 which was among the first documents to result of an international indigenous gathering (Pratt 2007: 398), served to catalyse a political campaign for the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. This was followed by the UN Declaration of 1993 as the Year of Indigenous Rights, and the start of a ten-year period to mark their recognition. Among other important events, indigenous Guatemalan peace activist Rigoberta Menchú won the Nobel prize in 1992, and two years later, in 1994, the Zapatista movement in Mexico led a political uprising against the government that was covered by media globally.

Véliz Lopez (2002) observes that the call for participation that was distributed among the ayllus and villages was for the first Anata Andina announced as a *pachakuti* (Aymara word for 'revolution') and the start for a new era for indigenous people. In his book Véliz Lopez shows a photograph taken on the day of the first parade, of about 10 people are carrying a banner with the message: 'DAMN SPANISH RACE OF

[71] The original of this audio in Spanish has been transcribed directly into English.

MURDERERS AND EXPLOITERS. 500 YEARS RESISTING COLONIALISM. JALLALLA KOLLASUYO MARCA'[72] (2002: 78).

The last line is written in Aymara and reads 'Long Live Kollasuyo Marca', which is the name Incas used for one of the four quarters of the Inca empire, which covered portions of what is now Argentina, Peru, Bolivia and Chile. Both Taylor (1992) and Fanon (2004 [1967]) have argued that when an oppressed individual internalises the image of the self that has been imposed on them as their own intrinsic identity, their identity can become 'toxic' and self-depreciation can be an 'instrument of their own oppression' (Taylor 1992: 25). Both thinkers argued that the need for recognition has a sense of urgency, mostly given the link between the subalternity and condition of oppression of certain groups. Fanon in particular defends the right to use violence against the oppressors, which is justified because their own violence towards the colonised. Here the idea of Indian as uncivilized is turned on its head: the savage, the uncivilised is the 'Spanish race'.

Thus it is also necessary to contextualise the emergence of the Anata Andino in connection to other intellectual post-colonial responses. Particularly, this refers to the branches of post-colonial/decolonising thinking, developed by Fanon (2004 [1967]), Said (2003 [1978]), Spivak (2006 [1995]) and others, who speak from inside colonised socities of the need to decolonise memory and the self. In the words of Linda Tuhiwai Smith, writing at the end of the 1990s, this refers to the need to decolonise 'our heads', 'to recover ourselves, [in order] to claim a space in which to develop a sense of authentic humanity' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 23).

In this process of self-recovery is implicit a critique of Modernity, Occidentalism, and the cultural, political, and philosophical paradigms that emerged as 'universal' since the advent of European colonisation, developed in Latin America in the vast works of Enrique Dussel, Walter Mignolo, Aníbal Quijano, Sebastián Castro-Gómez, Franz Hinkelammert among others. These debates include discussions about what has been said about the 'subalternity' (to borrow Spivak's term, 2006 [1995]) of colonial subjects, indigenous, Blacks, Africans and Asians, and challenge the prevailing ideology

[72] 'MALDITA RAZA ESPAÑOLA DE ASESINOS Y EXPLOTADORES. 500 AÑOS DE RESISTENCIA AL COLONIALISMO. JALLALLA KOLLASUYO MARCA'.

coming from the North/West that the alleged inferiority of other cultures (in terms of development, knowledge and history) is evidence of the superiority of Eurocentric modern thought.

The language of hostility used in the banner of the first Anata Andino ('damn Spanish race') is also a challenge to idea of the Carnival parade represents the conquering of racial and cultural difference. It also confirms an observation by Canessa in his essay on *katarismo* (2000), that the sites of political contestation and the struggle for recognition were not material or performance culture but ethnicity and religion (2000: 120). The Anata Andina emerges as an anti-mestizaje and anti-Catholic parade.

Yet I observed that many of the participants made the sign of the cross when performing some of the rituals ceremonies that are also part of the parade. Whilst others changed into non-traditional clothes when the parade finished. In my view, the aim of these expressions of 'extreme' indigeneity in the urban space is to a large extent to 'set the record straight', through the performance of 'authenticity'.

The organizers of the Anata Andina corroborated the anti-mestizo and anti-Christian message of the parade in 2008. Although indigenous peoples have adopted Christianity and capitalism for many generations, they described the contemporary Anata dancers as anti-Christian and anti-capitalist – as if denuded of modern presumptions. Spivak (2006 [1995]) coined the term 'strategic essentialism' in 1990 to refer to strategic choices of essentialism (that is the reduction of identities or traits to Western positivist notions of the 'universal') in a 'scrupulously visible political interest' (1995: 214). It provides a way to interpret certain actions in terms of establishing themselves as visible and different, by showing how they stand in contrast to hegemonic forces, even if sometimes this means assuming an essentialised identity based on non-indigenous assumptions about what it means to be indigenous.

The parade I observed in 2008 did not transmit the hostility imprinted on the banner of the first Anata Andina. The Anata Andina has earned a space in Oruro, despite official efforts to minimize its presence and importance. It has grown to include around fifteen thousand dancers according to its organizers. On the day, there were camera crews and many people in the audience watching, although seats are not sold, and no publicity is made for the event apart from what the organizers produce.

Authorities in Oruro (cultural, religious, municipal) and the troupes made up of elite people all continue to praise mestizo culture, based on a discourse of progress, as the culmination of a great process of cultural enrichment product of the 'encounter of cultures' since 1492. Ignoring the perspective of Anata organisers that after five hundred years of exploitation and theft, there was a real need to promote their own 'ways and customs' and the knowledge of their ancestors, by continuing to delve into a native way to understand the universe and humanity, an Andean epistemology. The possibility, as such suggested by Gramsci, of an 'inventory of oneself':

> 'to know oneself means to be oneself, to be master of oneself, to distinguish oneself, to free oneself from a state of chaos, to exist as an element of order – but of one's own order and one's own discipline in striving for an ideal. And we cannot be successful in this unless we also know others, their history, the successive efforts they have made to be what they are, to create the civilization they have created which we seek to replace with our own… And we must learn all this without losing sight of the ultimate aim: to know oneself better through others and to know others better through oneself' (Gramsci 1988 [1916]: 59).

In this view, the best-placed option for resistance and power reconfigurations is rearticulation: between 'imposed' self and inner self, between self and other, between an own history and the history of the other. Gustafson (2009) has correctly pointed out that cultural heritage intersects with the area of indigenous knowledges and its relationship to learning and knowledge transfer. Nowadays, though, rather than a 'symbolic or textual corpus', such as is imprinted on the figure of the 'indio permitido' versus '*indio salvaje*' (savage Indian), indigenous knowledges are a 'hybrid, networked form of socio-political and cultural practice that articulates with other forms of knowledge production and practices'. As Gustafson observed in his analysis of discourses and practices associated of policies of interculturality in education in Eastern Bolivia, different identities and dynamics enter processes of articulation in an attempt by indigenous peoples to create power reconfigurations leading to the emphasis of 'struggles over epistemic (i.e. political) authority and legitimacy, rather than debates over purism, identity, authenticity, or essentialism' (Gustafson 2009: 24).

In my view the best approach to more fully interpret the issues raised by the emergence of the Anata is a focus on the politics of recognition, as proposed by Taylor (1992).

6.2.5 Imagining Spaces for Recognition

Taylor explains that the political developments of the last century have led subaltern groups to realise the urgency in a politics of recognition (Taylor 1992: 27). This refers to the recognition and understanding of the authenticity of every human being as a basic right, and of the dialogical nature of existence – how identity emerges from our relationships with our 'significant others' (Taylor 1992: 32). It refers to the need to see beyond universalism, which emerged as the recognition that everyone has the same rights and entitlements, and beyond the politics of difference, which established that everyone has a unique identity, acting sometimes in difference to that of others (Taylor 1992: 33-34). From these developments, emerges the need to establish recognition of the 'equal value' of different cultures, seeking to have their value acknowledged, as well as increased possibilities of survival.

I shall briefly describe these principles in terms of my observations of one of the preparatory rituals among Anata Andino dancers.

I joined the Anata Andina organizers one on of their preparatory rituals to honour the Pachamama, which take place in the weeks before the parade. These preparations consisted of a pilgrimage the wa'qas near Oruro city, and doing a ch'alla ceremony in each of them before moving onto the next (see **Figure 20**). On our way, they explained that wak'as were 'ancient' ceremonial centres where people went to thank for what they had received in the year, in terms of health, production, achievements, personal and communal wellbeing, and to request for more good things to come in the new cycle[73]. When we arrived to our first destination, the Toad, on a small open space next to the start of the main road that connects Oruro to La Paz and Cochabamba, we went to meet the wak'a, a big boulder surrounded with the leftovers from a previous ch'alla. A *yatiri* (Aymara shaman) had come specially for the occasion, to lead the ch'alla, offering libations to the Pachamama and other deities – *Inti* (sun), *Killa* (moon), *Achachilas* and *Aviadores* (spirits of the mountains and the ancestors), natural forces and other wak'as – and to occasionally lead the conversation of the group onto discussions about the teachings of *cosmovisión andina* ('Andean cosmovision'),

[73] In a previous conversation with Ivan Z., he had told me that these wak'as had only been identified after 1982.

including conversations about history, peppered with jokes and general chit-chat. As noted by Silvia Rivera (in personal communication) ch'allas are social gatherings. People told jokes and they shared the duties of preparing any rituals, and perform rituals as a group, drinking, smoking and doing the pijchu. I was asked to join in.

The Yatiri was often humorous in his speech. Everyone called each other '*jefe*' ('boss'), but when the yatiri gave instructions, the rest followed them, as he was the one in control of our conversation and our attention. For each wak'a, during libations, as beer was sprayed around the wak'a and we started to burn the mesas, the yatiri asked for good fortune. Coca leaves, alcohol, beer, paper confetti were offered, as well as burning offerings (called *k'oas*).

In between libations, the yatiri mixed in the delivery of serious information with jokes about ethnicity and their condition of subalternity of Indians. At one point the yatiri joked about the stereotype of Bolivians being 'backward', which in Spanish is *atrasado*, the same word that is used for 'delayed'.

> 'Being Bolivian [means] being *atrasado*, that's just it. Always by fifteen minutes. [You have] to be more punctual, you just have to get there earlier'[74]

Whilst making us laugh and diffusing the tension inherent in any ritual performance, he was also having a dig at the insecure character of Bolivians. His joke, eliciting reflection from all present, echoes a critique of the consequences of the 'myth of modernity' over the images that Bolivians have of themselves, exposed by Bolivian philosopher, Juan José Bautista:

> 'we are not just "late" in world history, but Latin America has always been and will always be *atrasada* and dependent on Western Eurocentrism, and now on North American modern eurocentrism' (2010: 90, my translation).

It is also significant that these discussions about being an Indian include narratives of what others say about indigeneity. The processes of production of narratives, as Bakhtin demonstrated (in Holquist 1987), are dialogical and often include external

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[74] 'Ser boliviano [es ser] atrasado nomás, siempre quince minutos. [Hay que] ser punctual, más antecitos hay que estar pues'.

reflections that may not be explicit but are nevertheless there. It also become clear that in the dynamics of the politics of recognition at play in the Anata, there emerges the need to show what has been said about oneself, to represent what the community wants to say and how they wish to respond to what has been said, in front me, as an outsider and a '*citadina*' (urban-based individual).

As to my presence there, I was asked (with my companion) to perform the rites, to share the ch'alla and get drunk with them, and to put forward our own requests 'with faith' to the deities. We had to 'walk the walk and talk the talk' with our guests, in order to walk away with our own 'experience' of the day, of the rites and the practices – and a new personal understanding of certain layers of indigeneity, as the Yatiri kept asking us all '*¿cómo les parece mi ch'alla a lo andino?* ('what do you think of my Andean ch'alla?'). In involving our subjectivities, we too were experimenting with the permeable boundaries of our identity as Bolivians, as Bolivian members of a generation which had been brought up to distance ourselves from any trace of indigeneity.

I later found out from the Yatiri and those present, that that day had been a historical event because it had been the first time that they had been able to complete a pilgrimage of the wak'as as preparation for the Anata reciprocity rituals. In previous occasions, they said, they had all gathered in someone's house and had travelled 'mentally' to the wak'as, but the first time that they had physically gone as a collectivity with the purpose of making offerings and performing in reciprocity with the Pachamama and the other deities had been on that Tuesday before Carnival in 2008. This made me reflect on what Ivan Z. had told me earlier, that the Anata Andina gave them opportunities to develop their own knowledge; to identify areas of learning and pursuing them in the knowledge that every day was a step forward.

Figure 20. Ch'alla in wak'a of Cerro Micaela, in preparation for the Anata Andina

This sense of advancement reflected the political situation of Aymaras in the country, with the arrival of an Aymara to the nation's presidency in 2006. The recent political changes in Bolivia as a result of the reconfiguration of its political actors include tangible improvements for indigenous and poor people. A new political constitution that provides for indigenous rights, the redistribution of natural resources and nationalisation of basic service industries, the inclusion of indigenous representatives among the decision-making bodies of the State.

For Ivan Z., the Oruro Anata is what has promoted the identity of first nations in Bolivia, and ultimately, the structural changes of the country, which led to an Aymara Indian, become the nation's president (in interview). The visibility of Aymaras in Bolivia and the powerful emergence of Evo Morales, an *ayllu*-born Aymara, as a Latin American political leader, confirm new understandings of indigeneity whereby no longer is indigeneity to be assumed to relate to something intrinsic (racial categorisation, superstitious religiosity, economic and political subalternity, or other) but has to be looked at amidst the changing political, cultural, national, territorial and epistemological boundaries (De la Cadena and Starn 2007: 3). Both the 'indio permitido' and the 'indio salvaje' become annulled when both the president of the

nation, and those in charge of physical integrity of the nation reflect the changing configurations of indigenous identity.

In my view, the Anata Andina is an explicit expression for demands of recognition. It is an expression that asserts indigeneity in its difference (making mestizaje crumble) but also in its worth (as carriers of the authentic heritage of the nation). My experience of it was that it is no longer in confrontation with a particular sector of society (as in 'Damn Spanish Race of Murderers…') but with an ideology that reduces indigenous identity to irrelevance.

For indigenous and colonised people in Bolivia and the world over, the struggle for self-representation, and the visibility of indigenous histories is also a struggle for a new epistemology, in which new is not forward but different (De la Cadena and Starn 2007: 25). This is a decolonising 'return' that needs not be based on ontological or epistemological purity but engages with the past with an intention to reclaim it, as Radhakrishnan has suggested (2003: 318).

In fixing national heritage through institutional management of Bolivian folklore, particular versions of national identity are projected nationally and globally – mestizoness, Catholicism, homogeneity, the 'folkloric' Indian – and become validated in festivals at home and cultural events abroad. More than a nostalgic revisit of the past, the Anata offers the possibility of agency: envisioning a future in accordance to an own subjectivity which, as a work-in-progress, lends the possibility of authentic self-representation and past-contingency, rather than the imposed celebration of a false and decontextualised self.

6.3 Conclusion

The establishment of systems of symbolic difference that categorise actors according to structures of domination has resulted in racial constructs projected over some actors to render them invisible or irrelevant in processes of memory transmission at the level of national representation. The invisibilisation of the racialised 'Other' is a complex and ongoing process. Here I have focused on two operating principles, A) differentiation, whereby original racial constructs (based on phenotype) operate alongside binary forms of representation giving way to stereotype (Hall 1997a); and B) superimposition, whereby one group (along with the knowledges

and historical narratives of its actors) is absorbed or covered by a more powerful group (Appadurai 2008), and thus rendered irrelevant or invisible in processes of memory transmission.

On the other hand, the dynamics of performativity, and the negation of the Indian for the emergence of Bolivian national subjectivities, have prompted new processes of 'self-production' (Hall 1997b). An analysis of the dialogical dimension of performance has proved to be a good resource to see through it how performance offers its actors the possibility to contest ideological process that reduce 'Other' identities to invisibility of malformation (Taylor 1992). Recognition that identity is socially derived (Taylor 1992) informs choices that people make in the performance of the festive can lead to create spaces for self-development through the recovery of own memories.

The continuous presence of the GTADO, and the assertive ways in which they continue to use themselves and their past narratives as the source of meaning for their presence, shows that not all festive actors participate in the homogenising ideologies that have appropriated the festive space since the 1940s. Whereas the invasion of the urban by indigenous festive practices through the Anata Andina challenges the view that mestizo heritage contains all the voices, or the view promoted by the ACFO – '*todos hacen el Carnava*l' ('everyone makes Carnival') – that Carnival represents the true multiplicity of all Bolivians (Nava 2004: 80). Both groups contest the notion that national heritage (inherited values, selected traditions and beliefs promoted as the embodiment of the nation) can be homogenously represented by the performative actions and symbols of an increasingly exclusive group.

However, the emergence of the Anata Andina as a public display of indigeneity has acquired political relevance in the discussion of national identity and the role of indigenous peoples. It makes explicit indigenous demands of recognition, asserting indigeneity in its difference but also in its worth. This call, informed by recent developments in indigenous movements and decolonial thinking, challenges the 'universality' of Western modern values and regimes of truths.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis, I hope to have demonstrated how, during the 20th Century, the national elites of Bolivia have managed the Carnival Parade in Oruro so that it has become a marker of Bolivian identity. In the process it has contributed to reinforce hegemonic discourses of Bolivianness through its gradual de-indianisation. However, as demonstrated in the analysis of indigenous re-appropriations of festive practices in Oruro, I have found that the Oruro Carnival can also provide a space to elaborate decolonizing discourses and manifestations of Bolivian contemporary indigeneity.

I hope to have demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4 that the emergence of the festive space of Oruro as a platform for nation-making discourses is the result of the transmissive and transformative powers of the festive. The transformations of the festivity from being a marginal event at the start of the century to becoming Bolivia's most renown cultural performance and being inscribed in UNESCO's list of Masterpieces of World Intangible Cultural Heritage (since 2001) are deeply associated to socio-cultural and political transformations of the nation as a whole. Particular periods, such as the political transformations of the 1940s, which marked the re-structuring of Bolivia as a modern nation, emerge as pivotal points in the life of the festivity, eliciting changes of the socio-economic composition of the actors and the transmissive capabilities of the festivity.

On the other hand, the multivocality of Carnival (Bakhtin 1984 [1965]) and the interconnectedness of festive performance (Guss 2000) allow for dialogical and epistemological exchange among festive actors, and between them and larger socio-cultural structures. The power structures associated to the nation and the nation's elite set the boundaries for what and how can be represented through Carnival in Oruro. However, as I have argued in Chapter 5, the subjectivity of performance and dancing, places festive actors in a dialogical and active relationship with these boundaries. As a result, from my discussion in Chapter 6 it emerges that Carnival performance becomes a site of struggles and negotiations, open for interpretation, in the understanding that meaning is variable, temporalised, and spatialised (Foucault 1977).

7.1 Interpretative Dimensions

The exploration of Carnival as a site for the creation of meaning within larger socio-cultural processes can only be made possible via the examination of the different contexts in which it is produced.

As seen in Chapter 3, the sociocultural features of the Oruro Carnival can be mapped onto the physical geography of the region. I hope to have demonstrated that this socio-geographical map has been determined by the urban space of Oruro and the sacralisation of the landscape that reflects both indigenous Andean beliefs and responses to processes of acculturation initiated by the colonial regime. The historical location of the Carnival as symbol of the nation today, is the result of transformative historical moments that affected Orureños as inhabitants of a colonial mining environment, as urban Highland dwellers, and as participants of popular culture expressions. Foucault's notion of 'episteme' (Foucault 2002 [1966]) serves to also ground Carnival to particular ways of thinking and interpreting the world. The European Christian Carnival frames the festivity, but I hope to have demonstrated that there are other epistemological frameworks also at play through illustrations of local Andean agricultural practices, the cult of the dead, the devil and the Pachamama as forces of production, popular Catholicism, as well as the oral literatures related to the festivity that have travelled through time to be interpreted from contemporary contexts in particular ways.

The Oruro Carnival is a socio-cultural mediator with transmissive power (Guss 2000, Martín-Barbero 2003) of different historical layers of meaning. It conveys a dialogical relationship between different actors and discourses about the event, departing and representing their different socio-economic backgrounds that in turn contribute to the different meaning and interpretations of the event. As we saw in Chapter 5, the polyphony of those epistemes charge Carnival with a diversity of meanings and connotations, many of which emerge in performance simultaneously for its different actors. We have also seen that there is often tension, as those significations sometimes exist in conflict and contradiction with each other.

7.2 Official Discourses /Festive Transmissions

Processes of appropriation and formalisation of certain cultural expressions associated to the production of master narratives of the nation have taken place from the 1940s onwards in Bolivia. In Chapter 4, I showed that these processes are selective and exclusive, informed by structures of domination based on the establishment of systems of difference and hierarchical principles. As a result, indigenous actors and legacies become eclipsed by the embracing of modernity and the mestizaje project in official discourses about Carnival. In my discussion of the management of memory it emerges that heritage is largely endorsed as the most important aspect of knowledge transfer taking place in the festivity, and I have looked at three strategies for the legitimation of elite Catholic-mestizo heritage discourses: 1) Institutional management of memory, 2) Appropriation of oral literatures, and 3) Reinterpretation of existing cosmological symbols.

The penetration of the elites into Carnival in the 1940s is part of a larger framework of transformations and cultural projects taking place at the time. The ideology of 'folklore' as a 'discovery of popular culture' (Burke 1994 [1978]) by the upper and middle classes accompanied the political transformations of the nation and made of a small mining city, a 'centre of national imagination', to use a termed coined by Appadurai (2008: 212). Carnival became embedded in what was later to become the assimilationist project of the 1952 Revolution, whereby 'race' was substituted by 'class' as a principle of social organization.

Race (in all its connotations), on the other hand, was absorbed by the official mestizaje discourse, whereby becoming a mestizo implied a tacit but rigorous removal of indigenous traits from the individual in question. Thus indigeneity, acknowledged by newly emerged nationalist populist leaders and the intellectuals of *indigenismo* as a constitutive part of national identity, was placed either in the past (under the concept of 'heritage') or in the realm of folkloric expression. Race, used as a differentiating principle since the colonial period, continued to be used in hegemonic discourses, but under the guise of culture: festive practices showing indigenous traits became obscured by 'improved' elite versions of themselves, with a focus on contemporary ideas of spectacle. More recently, the institutional framework for the management of Carnival has focused on promoting the Catholic and mestizo heritages over any other

voice. Carnival is thus pushed into the framework of a system of representations that 'produces' evidence of the devotional and culturally 'syncretic' character of Orureños.

On the other hand, an institutional approach to the management of Carnival practices has defined Carnival as a non-renewable form of cultural heritage, as also seen in Chapter 4. It has been established that in its primarily communicative and representative role, the praxis of heritages involves the formation of continuities (Hall 2008, Smith 2006, Ashworth et al 2007). These edited narratives, whilst active in productions of self-definition, operate among systems of difference, between good and evil, modern and primitive, folkloric and autochthonous. These processes determine what values remain in uses of Carnival for the transmission of national memory. The folklorisation and 'heritagisation' of Carnival has implied a de-rooting from its original context and actors, and the simplification of its polyphony to make its transmissive powers operational in different settings. This is illustrated, among other manifestations, in the simplification of the polyvalent and polysemic Andean figure of the Devil into the folkloric Christian devil in order to 'fix' the meaning of the Devil dance. I have tried to summarise these processes in the notion of 'permitted heritage': that is, the uses of symbols of ancestral indigeneity but only in the framework of contemporary Catholic mestizaje for the purposes of representing the nation.

7.3 Being 'on-stage': Between Performance and Representation

The experience of Carnival performance is not just transmissive for its actors. In the public and highly mediatised context of the Oruro Carnival, the gaze of the audience can prompt ideas of re-invention, and social belonging, both of which are important elements defining the choice of conjunto, dance and costume that people make.

In Chapter 5, I showed that there are tensions between the issues of representation that emerge from official discourses, and dance performance as a changing and subjective experience. Performance involves subjectivity, and actors have to negotiate their own interests and concerns with the representative role of the event, as it becomes clear that although sharing the festive space and time provided by the fiesta, the cultural projects manifested by each group are not heading in the same direction.

I hope to have demonstrated that the polysemic dimension of the festive emerges with impetus at this level. While suppressed by official narratives about the Carnival, the subjectivity of the actors and the possibilities of transformation that the mask and the festive bring, give way to a sense of interconnectedness among the different actors, including those of performers, audience and media, as well as institutional and religious bodies, and their sometimes competing interests.

The introduction of mandatory requirements for participation, such as economic and religious affiliations demands, which emerged in recent decades, has filtered out a number of actors from participation in the festivity. However this does not mean that the internal composition of the parade actors is homogenous. Looking at the dynamics of the Devil dance troupes, I established the diversity of actors in terms of socio-economic and ethnic, characteristics, and how the festivity still offers space for the participation of all of these through devotion to the Virgin of the Mineshaft. Faith and memory are among the stronger binding forces that operate in the festive realm of Oruro, but different interpretations of those concepts are at play determined by the conjunto's social and cultural identity, and a performer's personal choice. Conjuntos operate under principles of 'distinction' (Bourdieu 2000), creating social differentiating structures that determine who can participate, and on what basis, and organizing people according to their cultural, social and economic capital.

Beyond the economic challenges of participation, actors may choose a conjunto on the basis of the social identity of the conjunto, its social composition, the prestige they have in the performance of the festivity as a whole, and how the media respond to them. Thus, choosing a conjunto is equivalent to choosing a socio-cultural identity that will frame an individual's performance and experiences of the festive, creating social projections, and reaffirming existing social division along ideas of race, taste, style. A conjunto's visibility – connected to the conjunto's ability to attract money, meet spectacle standards, and make the right connections amongst the different actors and interests involved in the festive – is also predetermined by the positions of its actors in the social map, according to their ethnic, cultural, racial and social standing.

As also noted by Mendoza (2000), an exploration of the performative dimension of dance performance has revealed that through elements of performance (dance,

mask, music) performers focus on 'changing experience' to give new meanings to their social environment. As García Canclini (1992) has observed, the modernization of traditional forms does not necessarily signify lack of meanings, but the emergence of new meanings.

I observed that being in a Carnival conjunto involves particular ways of learning, belonging to an existing community, becoming a figure in the spectacle, and approaching the others (audience, visitors, media). At this level, I have argued, performers negotiate their own interests and concerns about, for instance, what is the meaning of their own performance and what it projects to the audience of the media, with the discursive forces that dictate the boundaries of the event. Actors negotiate the terms of their participation by selecting from among competing conjuntos, choosing the style of the costume, and the style of dancing of the conjunto. In this way, existing boundaries between ideas of tradition and innovation, spectacle and rite, or the terms of their offering to the Virgin of the Mineshaft, are renewed, adapted or stretched to engage with modernity and heritage discourses through their own performance. Through these interactions, dance performance becomes a way of articulating being and becoming, operating through dynamics of 'distinction' (Bourdieu 2000) between self and others, and in response to Carnival's role as a symbol of the nation.

7.4 Behind-the-scenes: Exclusions and Re-appropriations

Processes of national representation and memory transmission as experienced by certain actors of Bolivia's most renown folkloric event, have been informed by the establishment of systems of symbolic difference that categorise structures according to systems of domination.

In Chapter 6, I focused on two of the operating principles behind these processes: differentiation and superimposition. One the one hand, the racialisation of culture in the Andes (De la Cadena 2007) and the representation of difference through stereotype (Hall 1997a) separate festive actors along hierarchical symbolic differences. On the other hand, one group and its legacy of contributions and memory is absorbed or eclipsed by a more powerful group (Appadurai 2008), and thus rendered invisible in processes of transmission of national memory.

As a result, we observed that behind the scenes of the spectacularisation of the nation, indigenous actors and urban indigenous mestizo groups are excluded. They are not allowed to have a say in the management of the parade, their histories are reduced or appropriated, and in the case of the Anata Andina the Church of the Mineshaft closes its doors to them. I have argued that their experiences of exclusion in a platform that mediates the nation at the level of representation is symptomatic of their erasure from national memory by the mestizaje discourse, itself a reconfiguration of colonial legacies around the correlation between race and social 'worth'.

However, the possibilities of performance and the negation of the Indian for the emergence of national subjectivities have prompted new processes of 'self-production' among excluded actors. As established in Chapter 5, it emerges that performance is not just a site of struggle or negotiation, but it also becomes a space for dialogue. The dialogical dimension of performance allows us to see how performance offers its actors the possibility to contest ideological processes that reduce 'Other' identities to invisibility of malformation (Taylor 1992).

According to Taylor (1992), identity is socially-derived, and its lack of recognition or misrecognition can prompt malformations. The agency of actors excluded from the processes of representation, informed by their own awareness of the need to attain recognition, informs choices that people make in the festive arena. These processes of self-recognition and the search for a dialogical recognition (between excluded actors and the State, between modernity and indigeneity) have mobilized actors to create spaces for self-development through the recovery of their own memory.

On the one hand, the GTADO, as a group that operates from within the Carnival parade, proposes paths of continuity for itself based on a familiarity with the sources of 'origin' and 'authorship' of Carnival practices. The assertive ways in which they maintain and make these connections visible, linked to the practice of Christianity under the influence of local practices, have given them a limited reign of freedom to operate under self-determination. They have also created spaces for the transmission of continuities – heritage – that are more representative of their ethnic and cultural positionality in Oruro's society. Their position does not oppose existing mestizaje discourses, but shows its limitations.

The revitalization of Latin American indigenous struggles around the 1990s is contingent on a quest of wider interactions with 'significant others' (to borrow Taylor's term, 1992), that is the State, the elite, and other subaltern groups. This translated into the more assertive ways in which indigenous people became visible in this period. The uprising of the Zapatistas in Mexico, the Declaration of Quito, and the UN Declaration of the Decade of Indigenous rights, among others, served as context for the invasion of the urban Carnival by rural actors who identify as Indians. The Anata Andina emerged in 1993 to challenge the view that mestizo identity contains all the voices of the country.

In the second part of Chapter 6, I showed that this indigenous re-appropriation of the festive space contests the portrayal of Orureños as Christian and modern, as Westernised folklorists. To overcome this imposed notion of rupture between the indigenous and the 'forces of progress', they have opted to increase their visibility by presenting the contrast between them, as a collectivity, and the forces who discriminate against them. They have established their identity in contrast to individualism, capitalism and Christianity.

Their decolonising stance is also in dialogue with ideas developed among decoloniality thinking/post-colonial literature about the urgency to recover the cultures, languages and memories of indigenous and colonized peoples around the world. There is also a development in the Anata Andina from earlier attempts in Bolivia to speak of Bolivia in terms of 'two countries', one for the groups approaching progress and well-being, and another for Indians (Reynaga 1970), and to establish the roots of the Aymara Nation, promoted by katarismo (Canessa 2000). Their discourse also appeals to the past for processes of memory recovery, but at the same time, it allows its participants to continue to research and explore new findings and meanings of 'Andean cosmovision' ('*Cosmovisión Andina'*). As such it has turned into a sort of laboratory of Andean Cosmovision and the cultural heritage of Aymaras and Quechuas, through the festive. These strategies highlight the changing face of indigeneity, whereby it can no longer be seen in terms of 'language', 'race', or 'culture', to a place of enhanced visibility and political participation in the now and the future.

An analysis of the Oruro Carnival is richly situated for the debate between official memory, and collective memories. We can continue to work on the premise that one

of the projects of the colonisation of the Americas was to destroy or discredit 'autochthonous ways or preserving and communicating historical understanding' (Taylor 2003: 34). However, the discredit of such ways is no longer an imposition from outside. It is now internalised and naturalised, rooted in the constituity of the modern Bolivian subject.

The type of analysis developed in this thesis aims to produce a new conceptual framework that can only emerge from intersubjectivity (that is my relation with other subjects, me at the centre of the dialogues), as argued by Bautista 2010. By looking at the dynamics between festive performance and the making of Bolivianness, we have seen that the Indian has been pushed into darkness under the mestizaje discourse, under Western aspirations, and under the economic weight of capitalist accumulation. I have demonstrated that that dialogue and transformation can be sought through cultural performance, in that performance allows for interlocution.

How Bolivian society, under the current political transformations, is going to respond to these challenges in the long term is what remains to be seen. Will the Anata Andina continue to be marginalized in the current historical context? What will happen, for instance, when Evo Morales is no longer in power? Will Aymaras and Quechuas go back to darkness? Alternatively, is this process, which has targeted the subjectivity of Bolivians as a whole, one of no return?

I have entered these debates as a researcher, but also as an Andean Bolivian member of my generation. To try to fix some of the decisions made by our parents and grandparents: i.e. that to be brought up in recognition of our constitutive indigeneity would hinder our possibilities of success in life. The identification of these processes has also prompted the recovery of my own memory, for it recognizes that my own indigeneity, as an Andean Bolivian, is eclipsed but not absent.

8. Glossary of foreign words and acronyms

ACFO	Asociación de Conjuntos Folklóricos de Oruro. Body run by authorities of each of the dancing troupes, in charge of coordinating the management of the Oruro Carnival Parade.
Abuelos	'grandparents', also in the context of the Andes can refer to the dead and ancestors
Achachilas	Spirits of the ancestors and the mountains in Andean cosmology
Anata	Means both 'play' and 'carnival' in Aymara
Artesanos	Artisans. In the context of the Carnival, this refers to the craft makers: embroiderers, wig-makers, shoe-makers, prop-makers, and all those involved in making the costumes and accessories for the dancers
Bloque	One of the subgroups that make up a dance troupe
Camba	Person from the lowlands in Bolivia
Campesino	Peasant
Caporales	Recently emerged folkloric dance. Popular dance among young people in festive parades.
CEF	Comité de Etnografía y Folklore
Ch'alla	Andean blessing and offering ceremony
Cofradía	Part of the management structure of the dance troupe. The cofradía is made up by women only and is in charge, among other things that vary from troupe to troupe, of the image of the Virgin.
Colla	Andean Bolivian, in contrast with Camba which designates someone from the lowlands
Comparsa	Another word for dance troupe
Conjunto	Dance troupe

Convite	The first and last convites are the street rehearsals at the start and end of the festive period, where all the dancers take part in their rehearsal costumes.
DAU	Diablada Artística Urus
Diablada	Devil dance, performed in Southern Peru, North Chile and mainly, in the Bolivian Highlands
Directorio	Management committee inside an institution. In this context, it refers to dance troupe authorities.
Entrada	Dance Parade
FACLD	Fraternidad Artística y Cultural La Diablada
Fiestas patronales	Special festivities in the Christian calendar dedicated to honour a particular Catholic saint.
Flotas	Long-distance coaches
FSUTCO	Federación Sindical Única de Trabajadores del Campo de Oruro
GMO	Gobierno Municipal de Oruro
Graderias	Temporary seats arranged alongside the Carnival route to hold the audience
GTADO	Gran Tradicional y Auténtica Diablada Oruro
Guía	The leader and dance coordinator of an individual subgroup (or *bloque*) inside a dance troupe
Huari/Wari	Ancient deity present in oral literature about Urus people
Indigencia	Extreme poverty
Indigenismo	Trend (in politics, art, literature) that highlights indigenous culture and values
Inti	Sun (deity)
Kalapari	Soup consisting of a spicy corn base cooked using hot stones.

Killa	Moon (deity)
Mañaso	Butcher, slang. Also known as ‘matarife’.
Minibus	Small passenger van, main form of transport in Bolivian cities
Mita	Colonial working tribute offered to the Spanish Crown
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo (political party)
MNR	Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (political party)
Morenada	“Moreno” (dark-skinned one) dance. Same geographical presence as Diablada.
Pachamama	Andean deity of the land, often translated as Mother Earth
Pasante	Sponsor figure of festive events. Community based and responding to notions of ritual reciprocity in the Andes.
Pije	Well-dressed
Pollera	Skirt worn by Andean urban indigenous women. Also part of Carnival costumes for women dancers.
Rodeo	Collection of money among conjunto members to fund Carnival participation.
Sudaca	Common derogatory term for people of South American origin, used primarily as a racial slur.
Supay	Andean spirit commonly translated as devil, but with a benevolent side
T’antawawas	Bread in the shape of babies which is made and consumed for All Saints Day
Tío de la Mina	Mining deity

UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
Urus	Mythical people who inhabited Oruro and nearby areas, when the Spanish colonizers arrived. There are two ethnic groups denominated Uru in the Highlands, the Uru Chipayas (near the Lauca River) and the Uru-muratos (near Poopó lake, on the outskirts of Oruro).
Velada	Weekly gathering in honour of the Virgin, in preparation for Carnival
Wak'a	Sacred site on the landscape
Yatiri	Aymara shaman

9. Bibliography

There are separate ***Video***, ***Press*** and ***Interviews*** sections, below the main publications list.

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Interviews

All references to these interviewees refer to information received during data of interview.

Interviewee	**Date of the Interview**
Don Marco (L.)	08-04-08
Dario A.	09-02-08 & 05-03-08
Pedro C.	25-01-08
Doña Blanca	16-08-08
Doña Elena	16-08-08
Jorge P.	20-12-07
Mario B.	12-12-07
Beatriz	20-12-07
Armando Y.	16-01-08
Ivan Z.	25-03-08
Carlos Delgado	03-2008
Ascanio Nava	12-12-07
Fray Mauro	26-03-08
Toba Dancer	04-02-08

10. Appendices

Appendix A: Research Participants

Here are some further details of some of the key informants of my research. They were actors and participants of the diverse festive events taking place for Carnival in Oruro (dancers, craft artists, musicians) including the main parade and the rural alternative parades, as well as the cultural and religious authorities, and the mineworkers of the Mina San José. Images are included at the end of the text.

Festive Actors of Oruro

In each of the five conjuntos I approached, I was able to get close to some of the key figures, and engage in exchange and conversation with them on several opportunities. There were also other key figures and participants who shared their experiences with me. What follows is a description of some of the most important contributors to this study.

Dancers and Dance Troupe Authorities

Don Mauro L. is a sixty-five year-old library desk worker, ex-mañaso, and has performed for over fifty-five years. He is the leader of Bloque Aniversario, its choreographer and organiser. His role is to recruit for the bloque, to train and to devise the choreographies. The majority of the dancers in the bloque were part of his kin-network, including several of his grandchildren.

Dario A., the honorary president of the GTADO, from a younger generation, has also danced all of his life. He has a stall in a market in the outskirts of Oruro, selling meat and chicken products, and his wife who was a member of the Cofradía until she passed away in 2009. His sister and other close relatives are also important figures in the Diablada.

Pedro C., of the Corrales founding family, is a retired teacher, ex-mañaso, who was president of the institution for a number of years before retiring from Carnival activities some years ago. He has written historical accounts about Carnival, and the historic participation of his family.

Doña Blanca S. and Doña Elsa, the current president and vice-president of the Cofradía at the GTADO (during fieldwork), both have meat stalls in Mercado Bolívar. Blanca is a working mother, still in charge of housework, which she combines with the

flexible hours of running the family's meat stall in the market. Both ladies belong to families with a tradition at the GTADO, and have known each other for many years.

Jorge P., ex-president of the FACLD, was the current president of the Cámara de Industrias de Oruro (the Oruro Chamber of Industries). He danced in the FACLD's most prestigious bloque, the *Ñaupas*, and members of his family dance too, in other troupes.

Mario B., also a manager at the Oruro Chamber of Industries, is the son of one of the founders of the FACLD and has danced since his early years. He stopped dancing in 2005 but until then was a very active member of the Ñaupas, including many roles as Angel (traditionally performed by the troupes' choreographers). His family is considered foundational in the history of the FACLD.

Beatriz, secretary, is also a member of the FACLD. A law graduate, she had danced for over thirteen years at the time of our interview, and was soon to become dance leader in her bloque.

Hector M. has been a member of the FACLD, on and off, for over thirty years. Originally from Oruro, he sells media advertising and owns a hardware shop in the well-off Zona Sur, in La Paz, where he lives with his wife and daughter. He is a member of the Ñaupas. Oscar N., the (then) president of the FACLD, is a businessman who has been a part of the Diablada since his youth. He lives with his family in Oruro.

Doña Maria, is the president of the Cofradía, and her son and husband are FACLD dancers. She is one of the honorary members of the Cofradía and a respected figure at the institution because of her religious demeanour.

Fernando C. (r.i.p.) was the son and grandson of some of the founders of the Urus, and still works at the carpenter's shop where the institution was founded in 1960. He has a family, and they are all active members of the Urus, including his eighty-year old father, and his teenage son who dances as Devil, like Freddy. He was the choreographer of the Urus and the creator of many new diablada steps until his death in 2009.

Armando Y., in his fifties, is the president of the Doctorcitos, one of the smallest dancing troupes of the parade. He runs a costume-making shop/workshop in Calle La Paz, with his family, which also operates as rehearsal and meeting place for the affairs

of the dancing troupe. He was born in the vicinity, and had to learn his craft as a child from a neighbour.

In terms of other parades, I also interviewed Ivan Z., an authority at the Federación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Oruro (FSUTO) who is one of the founders of the Anata Andina. With over thirty years' experience as a campesino trade unionist, Ivan Z. is an agronomy graduate from Oruro who has been involved in the cultural revitalisation of Aymara traditions through the Anata Andina.

Carnival Workers and Artists

Oruro's material culture is designed and created yearly by an army of skilled artists and artisans, from costumes, to wigs, masks, shoes and accessories. Many of the interviews of these artists and craft-makers did not make it to the final script of the dissertation, but they informed my observations in indirect ways. This is why I am including their information here.

The Flores family has been in the business of masks for three generations, and many of their innovations in terms of design and materials have been adopted as the norm in current trends. The have a workshop off Calle La Paz, from where father, mother and son work all year round, specialising on the sophisticated masks of the Morenos and the Diablos.

Doña Berna also has her workshop on Calle La Paz, working with her family including her grown up children who give up their holidays as professionals (one was a dentist) in La Paz, to come to work for the busiest periods for mask and accessory making.

Don Walter, costume embroiderer, has a small workshop on Calle La Paz, where he works with the help of family and an assistant. During their long sessions, many of the costume-makers chewed coca leaves at work, to help them cope with the long hours of repetitive work that they do as part of their trade.

Boot maker, who inherited his small workshop from his father complained that there were no youths interested in learning his skill and warned that theirs would probably be the last generation of festive shoe makers. He attributed this to low income and work instability that it brings.

Thousands of musicians also take part, as dancing troupes hire brass bands to accompany the dancers, and entertain the private post-parade Carnival parties in the headquarters or hired venues around Oruro.

José and Román are both young members of the new Tricolor band, founded in 2008, whose honorary president is Evo Morales. They live in the San José area of Oruro, where the mines are located. They both have young families to support and work as musicians in all the festivities in the area, including Perú and Chile, as well as teaching in polytechnics. Brass bands are mostly formed by young men, few women, and are led by a more experienced musician and manager.

Mr Lalo W., from the same town as Evo Morales, Orinoca, had had a long musical career and lived in a three-storey house in the mining neighbourhood of San José, where rehearsals took place. He played the *bombo* (Andean drum) for Tricolor, one of the main bands of two of the largest and most prestigious conjuntos, the FACLD and Morenada Ferrari Ghezzi.

Cultural and Religious Authorities

The authorities in charge of managing the celebrations in Oruro work are cultural officers at the Mayor's Office (Alcaldía Municipal), such as the Culture Officer (role occupied in 2008 by Fabrizio Cazorla) and the Heritage and Tourism Director (then and still at time of writing, Carlos Delgado); the president of the ACFO (then Ascanio Nava).

Cazorla and Delgado, who share kin, both were Carnival dancers: Cazorla at the FACLD (as well as many members of his family, including renown Carnival researcher grandfather Josermo Murillo V., and historian brother Maurice Cazorla), and Delgado was a Morenada Central dancer, although neither of them danced during my stay.

Ascanio Nava, who by the time of the fieldwork had occupied a variety of roles in the management of the ACFO during fifteen years, was a business man in the car trade who had also danced with the Suri Sicuris during many years. He was also the author of a book about the Oruro Carnival (Nava 2004).

Finally, Fray Mauro, in his fifties, is a Colombian catholic priest who had lived in Oruro over two decades and had got involved with Carnival celebrations from early on. He also took part dancing and carrying the front banner for the Pujllays conjunto in the parade.

Miners and the Mine

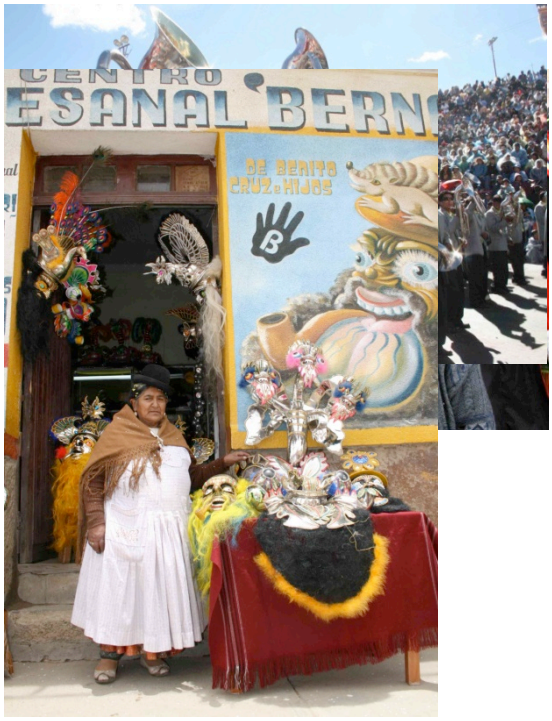
The miners from the cooperative mining centre at the San José mine are a varied lot. There are younger and older men, even women; people from Oruro and many other regions attracted by the healthy market prices of minerals. Jose César, late 20s, was a son's miner, working as a security officer in San José. He had worked in the mine since he was twelve; (then) in his twenties and with a family to support, he had abandoned the idea of going into higher education and was now one of the few mine workers that is not directly connected to mineral extraction, although he often supplemented his monthly salary of Bolivian Bs. 1000 (around US$ 113 in 2008) working some extra shifts inside the pit.

Don Gustavo, 40s, Orureño by birth, and in mining since his early teens, was one of the miners who suffered the devastating effects of the '*relocalización*' (relocation of miners to other cities) and emigrated to Santa Cruz, where he set up a handmade toy business. Because of personal reasons, he said, he had returned to work in the mine, but was willing to move again when the situation improved.

This is not an exhaustive list, but reflects the contributors with a more significant presence in the research. One has to bear in mind that Carnival is celebrated by hundreds of thousands of people, many of them come just for the occasion, most are based in the city. In the methodology, I explained how I tried to overcome some of the challenges inherent in working with multiple actors, producers of simultaneous discourses, at once.

Some images of Oruro Carnival participants

Caporal Dancer



Musician

Anata dancer

Mask Maker

DAU, Chinas Supay

GTADO, post-parade celebration

FACLD, Diablesa Troupe

Appendix B: Oruro Carnival Festive Calendar

I arrived Oruro with my family to settle down there for the duration of the festive season which starts the weekend after All Saints day, with the First Convite. In 2007-2008, the festive season went from November 2007 to March 2008. Dates are movable according to the yearly Christian Calendar for Carnival.

The following is a chart with the events I observed to be part of the yearly cycle of the festive in Oruro city:

Date	**Event**
November 2	All Saints Day celebrations throughout the Andes
First Sunday after All Saints	First Route Rehearsal or *convite*
November 22	Feast and parade for Saint Cecilia (*Entrada a Santa Cecilia*), the patron of musicians
Every week between November and Carnival	Weekly Rehearsals by dancing troupes.
Every Friday between November and Carnival	Visits to Wak'as with offerings, and ch'allas inside the mine
Every Saturday between November and Carnival	Weekly gatherings (*veladas*) in honour of the Virgin organised by conjuntos
On Third Saturday before Carnival	Morenada Festival (*Festival de Morenada*)
Two weeks before Carnival	Costume and Mask Artists Exhibition, organised by the Mayor's Office
One week before Carnival Saturday	Brass Bands Festival (*Festival de Bandas*)
End of January	Alasitas/Ekeko/Calvario Festival (*Fiesta del Calvario*)
Saturday before Carnival	Last of weekly gatherings inside conjuntos

Sunday before Carnival	Last collective route rehearsal, or *convite*
Wednesday before Carnival	Jallupacha Parade (*Entrada Jallupacha Carangas*), rural dancing troupes from the Carangas region.
Thursday before Carnival	*Comadres* Feast and *Anata Andina,* largest rural parade of the country
Friday before Carnival	Inside the mine: the Tío de la Mina Carnival feast. (*Ch'alla al Tío*) In the streets: Festive Fair (*Verbena*).
Carnival Saturday	Main Carnival parade (*Entrada de Carnaval*), first day
Carnival Sunday	Main Carnival parade, *kacharpaya* or 'farewell'.
Carnival Monday	Day of the Devil and the Moreno. Dancing displays by Morenada and Diablada troupes. Conjunto post-Carnival parties
Carnival Tuesday – *Martes de ch'alla*	Private parties in homes with friends and family. Blessing rituals of all belongings and properties.
Ash Wednesday	Official end of Carnival holiday, return to work.
Weekend after Carnival 'Tentaciones'	*J'acha Anata*, on Saturday, in the north of Oruro city. Rural parade. Carnaval del Sur, Sunday, Southern district. Urban parade.
Two weekends after Carnival	Embroiderers' Parade (*Entrada de Bordadores*) or parade organised by the costume-makers. Closes the festive cycle.

Appendix C: Carnival Dances

DANCE	DESCRIPTION
Diablada	Devil Dance that represents the struggle between forces of good and evil.
Morenada	Represents the hardworking African slaves during the Spanish colony.
Incas	Represents the Spanish conquest, and the death of the Inca.
Negritos	Represents the rhythmic dance of the populations of African ascendance.
Ahuatiris	Represents the Shepherds of the highlands.
Llamerada	Represents the llama shepherds of the highlands.
Zampoñeros	Musicians dance while playing the *zampoñas* (Andean panpipes), musical instruments played in the windy season.
Tinkus	Represents the ritual violence enacted every year in Northern Potosí.
Caporales	A stylised version of *Negritos*, representing mainly the African foremen used to control the African slaves during the Spanish colony.
Tobas	Represents the warrior ethnic groups of the lowlands.
Kallawayas	Represents the travelling natural medicine practitioners of the highlands.
Antawara	A stylised version of the shepherd dancers or *Llamerada*.
Kullawada	Represents the spinners and weaving specialists of the highlands.
Phujllay	Represents the dance, music and war rituals of the Yamparaes region in the department of Chuquisaca.
Tarqueada	Musicians dance while playing the *tarkas*, Andean musical instruments played in the rainy season.
Wititis	Represents the hunting of partridges that harm the plantations of quinoa in the highlands.
Kantus	Musicians dance while playing the *sikus, putu ankaras, chiniscos* and *pututus*, Andean musical instruments.

Potolos	Represents the dancers of Potolo (department of Chuquisaca), with rhythmic and playful movements of the hips.
Doctorcitos	A satirical representation of lawyers and penpushers.
Danzas Estilizadas	Several other stylised dances (e.g. *Suri Sicuris, Inti Llajta*).

From Araoz (2003: 62), from information available in ACFO magazines.

Appendix D: Route of the Parade

This is the Official Carnival Route Map prepared by the Prefectura de Oruro (2007). The words in Spanish mean 'Inicio' = Start of the Route, 'Socavón' = Church of the Mineshaft, 'Recorrido Oficial' = Official Route.

The route starts in the Ranchería area, and then it descends onto the Avenida del Folklore, a wide commercial road. It mounts up via Calle Bolívar, from behind the Campero Market (where some members of the GTADO have stalls). Here the route narrows down. Then it surrounds Oruro's main square 'Plaza 10 de Febrero' where the government buildings and Oruro's most exclusive hotel, Hotel Eden, are located, as well as a large VIP seating area. It continues up Calle Bolívar, then to the left through Calle Petot and Calle Adolfo Mier, both small residential/market roads, until it reaches the largest stage of all, the Avenida Cívica. There, there is a VIP seating area, and the Church of the Mineshaft is very near. Once it leaves the Avenida Cívica, most dancers stop or slow down to reach the Plaza del Folklore, where one last display takes place, before entering the Church of the Mineshaft.

Appendix E: Video Sample

Please find enclosed a short video extract of the Carnival parade and the Anata Andina.